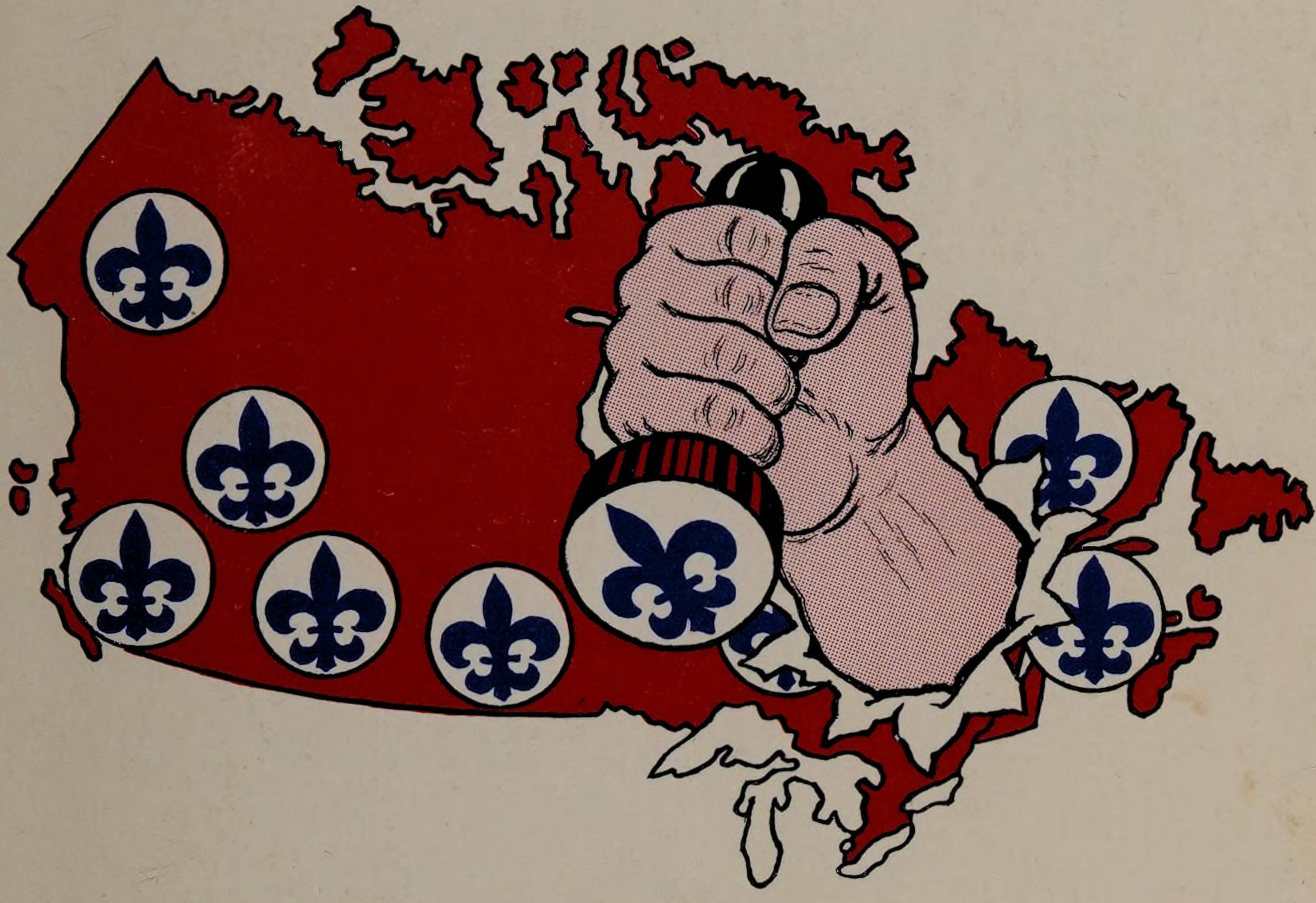
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FRENCH POWER



THE FRANCIZATION OF CANADA

SAM ALLISON

FOREWORD BY WINNETT BOYD



CULTURAL CENTRE CULTUREL

French Power

ELGIN BOARD

French Power

The Francization of Canada

Sam Allison

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The responsibility for the book lies with me alone.

Montreal — SAM ALLISON
June, 1978

Preface

In the 1950's, social science professors assured their classes that Sweden had the world's highest suicide rates. Today, the Swedish suicide myth is recognized to be false by academics and the general public alike.

Yet, social myths do not arise spontaneously. General Eisenhower propagated the Swedish suicide myth to keep a Scandinavian style of socialism from the USA. In the same way, some members of both the Canadian and the Quebec Governments manufacture linguistic and social fictions for political purposes.

This book sets out to dispose of some social myths and to challenge what is "known" to be true about Canada's linguistic situation.

SAM ALLISON

Foreword

In his book, "BILINGUAL TODAY, FRENCH TOMORROW", Lieutenant Commander Andrew stated that "In 1968, Canada's newly elected Prime Minister, Mr. Pierre Trudeau, set out with a half-dozen like-minded associates under cover of some very clever double-talk to convert Canada from an English-speaking country into a French-speaking country".

The success of his book — more than 120,000 sold in its first year — attests to the opinion expressed by a majority of readers: that it confirms their own experience. Nevertheless some remain sceptical that converting Canada is either feasible or that it has been attempted.

To those sceptics I say, read "FRENCH POWER". In it, Sam Allison traces how Quebec, due to the constant pressure of its ultranationalists, now epitomized by the Parti Québecois, is being changed from a freely bilingual province into a coerced unilingual-French province, in spite of the waning use of French worldwide. In the single-minded pursuit of their goal, the ultranationalists have propagated myths of their own making, not only to deceive English-speaking Canadians, but also to deceive and inflame growing numbers of their French-speaking fellow citizens.

Parti Québecois propaganda is skillful, persistent and effective. Expanding now into the United States and Europe, the ultranationalists' flagrantly distorted version of Canadian history is used to gain sympathy for "a conquered but defiant people". Voices of other Quebecers raised in opposition are

unheard, but they deserve mention. Among them, Pierre Laurin, director of the University of Montreal's business school and brother of Camille, Quebec Cultural Development Minister, said recently:

> "It is wrong to explain our economic inferiority as the result of our being a minority or of our having been conquered . . . it is we Quebecers, ourselves, who are above all responsible for Quebec's economic decline."

Today, the myth of a suppressed minority has come to be accepted by Canada's complaisant and leaderless majority. The myth is constantly reinforced by federally-funded incitement of French Canadians against that majority and by Quebec-funded French Canadian activists in other parts of Canada. In Quebec itself, it is manifested by complete intolerance of anything English, especially the language.

One of the many myths that Sam Allison's well researched and objective book examines and explodes is that French Canada has been preoccupied with survival since the Conquest in 1760. Initially, it was indeed a matter of survival. But, commencing with Confederation, French Canadians recognized their growing control of both the Federal and Quebec governments and have used their power ever more overtly. Now there is no attempt whatsoever to mask their purpose.

While the economic expansion of French Canada may have been overshadowed by the growth of English Canada, the French now completely control both the Federal and Quebec governments and are using their political muscle to expand into all of Canada.

The French traditions of authoritarianism and state control, which the author traces to Rousseau and Descartes, are evident not only in Quebec; through the exercise of French power in Ottawa they threaten the liberty of every Canadian. Prime Minister Trudeau has stated his intention to "remedy deficiencies" in the British North America Act.

"The government has resolved to provide Canada with a new Constitution by the end of 1981. To do so it will use all of the powers at its disposal. . ." First on a list of nine deficiencies is the fact that the BNA Act "is based largely on Acts of the British Parliament. . ." What the Prime Minister fails to mention is that the BNA Act is also based on the English common law, on Magna Carta, on habeas corpus and on the fundamental liberty of the individual. This is the real significance of French power — that its traditions are alien to the British traditions on which the country was founded.

Another myth that is completely accepted by non-Quebecers is the magnanimity of Quebec to non-French education. The facts are just the reverse. As the author explains: "In a child's educational life, Quebec's English children probably receive $1,100 less because of school level discrimination plus around $3,000-$4,000 less because of discrimination at CEGEP (Junior College) and university. In brief, perhaps around $4,000 per child *less* is spent upon English- than upon French-speaking children between kindergarten and university. . . . As a result of Bill 101, many students in English schools now receive no Provincial funding at all. Consequently, these children, or 'non-persons' as they were called by Quebec's Minister of Education, will receive, throughout their school life, around $15,000 less than French children between kindergarten and grade 11."

Yet another exploded myth is Quebec trying to compare its situation with that of Ontario rather than with Canada as a whole. The author states that "Ethnically, politically, socially, numerically and historically, Quebec is, in fact, a mirror image of Canada rather than the other Provinces."

A mirror reverses everything. Canada has an English-speaking majority (74%), Quebec has a French majority (81%). Canada is becoming more tolerant and is using

French more, Quebec is becoming less tolerant and is using English less. Canada is accepting immigrants openly (the wisdom of which some Canadians seriously question), Quebec is screening its immigrants. The ruling federal Liberal Party still alternates its leaders between English- and French-speaking while Quebec has never had a native English-speaking Premier since Confederation.

As the English-speaking reader proceeds through this book his blood pressure will rise. He can only come to the conclusion at the end that he is being very cleverly "conned" out of his country.

What can be done about it? The first step, I suggest, is to expose the myths by seeking the truth; then to discuss the facts without fear or favor. As the truth begins to spread, so will French power begin to recede.

Toronto — WINNETT BOYD
June, 1978

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The Background

"A plague o' both your houses!"

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Two Discriminating Solitudes

The French and the English in Canada may be thought of as "two solitudes". Nevertheless, the two linguistic groups interact, complement and conflict with each other. Royal commissions, government funded research and the popular media have created the social fiction that only the English solitude discriminates.

This book attempts to restore a balanced view by suggesting that Shakespeare's phrase — "a plague o' both your houses!" — is appropriate. As regards discrimination and Canada's two solitudes, there is right and wrong on both sides. Discrimination between the French and the English in Canada must be viewed as symmetrical or both ways rather than asymmetrical or one way.

This book is a social criticism of ultranationalism. One can be hostile to French Canadian ultranationalism and yet appreciate the French language and culture. In Canada's social climate today, the latter is virtually impossible. As with ultranationalists everywhere, Quebec's ultranationalists brand any and all social criticisms as racist attacks. This is obviously not so.

Ultranationalism is the unhealthy exaggeration of national identity and authority to achieve domination over

other groups. Also related to this phenomenon are imperialism and chauvinism. Patriotism is a word often used as a synonym for these terms. Patriotism, however, is selflessly doing something for one's nation, which may be against one's personal interests. Whereas patriotism is giving and sacrificing, ultranationalism is keeping and expanding.

It is not French Canadian patriotism that threatens Canada, it is French Canadian ultranationalism. To be sure, not all French Canadians are ultranationalists. Nevertheless, ultranationalism is the strongest intellectual and political force in French Canada.

French Canadian ultranationalism does not express itself in the same manner at all times. There are two strands of it in Canada today. The Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, is attempting to extend French influence throughout Canada; whereas the Premier of Quebec, René Lévesque, is attempting to extend French dominance over the non-francophone groups in Quebec. These two strands of French Canadian ultranationalism assert that Canada must choose only between them.

The consequence of these two strands of French Canadian ultranationaism is to maximize French rights in Canada and to minimize English rights in Quebec. The French domination over the Federal and Quebec Governments ensures that this is so.

Big Government is French

To paraphrase Marx, in Canada the English-speaking people dominate the means of production while the French-speaking people dominate the means of government administration. French-speaking people monopolize the means of government administration in Quebec. In plain words, Big Business is English while Big Government is French. The Government or State is important since it has become

the centre of money, power and authority in modern society. While Big Government is French, it must be emphasized that this is not the result of a conspiracy. Rather, French Canada's political muscle stems from the cohesive, closed nature of French Quebec and the open, diversified nature of English Canada.

In order to explain French political power, in both Canada and Quebec, we must analyze voting patterns. We look first at the federal Liberal Party.

TABLE 1

Regional Distribution in Canadian Federal Parliaments[1]

	Liberals from:			Total Seats
	Quebec	Ontario	Other Prov.	in Parliament
1945	53	34	38	245
1953	66	50	35	265
1957	63	20	22	265
1958	25	14	9	265
1962	35	43	22	265
1965	56	51	24	265
1968	56	64	35	265
1972	56	36	17	264
1974	60	55	26	264

As may be seen in the table, with the exception of one or two occasions, such as in 1962 and 1968, Quebec's Liberals have dominated the Canadian Liberals in Parliament. In 1968, to compensate for the decreased share of Quebec MPs amongst federal Liberals, the Quebec share in the cabinet jumped to 40% of the total. It must be pointed out that the Liberals have ruled Canada for much of the 20th Century. Indeed, since the 1930's, the Conservatives have ruled only from 1957-1963. The 1958 election was the only one since the war in which Quebec's Liberals

failed to hold Canada for the Liberal Party. Consequently, we can see that a politically diverse English Canada has the scales tipped by a politically cohesive French Quebec. In other words, the French minority holds the political balance of power in Canada.

Turning to the provincial scene, we find that the cohesive nature of Quebec's French-speaking majority works to ensure that Quebec's English minority never holds the balance of political power.

TABLE 2

Composition of Quebec's National Assembly[2]

Seats	Numbers Held by Winning Party	Total Seats
1948	82 (UN)	92
1952	68 (UN)	92
1956	73 (UN)	93
1960	51 (Lib.)	95
1962	63 (Lib.)	95
1966	56 (UN)	108
1970	72 (Lib.)	108
1973	102 (Lib.)	110
1976	69 (PQ)	110

(UN Union Nationale, Lib. Liberal, PQ Parti Québecois)

As can be seen in Table 2 the cohesive, closed nature of French Quebec results in massive majorities for the winning party in Quebec's National Assembly. As a result, the English minority can be politically ignored and English-speakers discriminated against in public life.

Curiously, the Quiet Revolution of the early 1960s was in fact the era with the *smallest* majorities in Quebec's history. As a result, the 1960s saw great advances and changes in Quebec society. With the overwhelming Liberal majority of 1973 and the substantial PQ majority of 1976, Quebec's ultranationalists could revert to the excesses of the Duplessis years.

The point is, the cohesive nature of French Quebec gives it much more political clout both federally and provincially than its numbers would warrant.

The socio-economic consequences of French Canada's control of Big Government are enormous. Neither the Canadian nor the Quebec Government is neutral in a linguistic sense. Yet the adverse consequences of the French domination of the means of government administration are neither studied nor challenged. In brief, French Canadians have easier access to public funds and jobs in Canada, particularly in Quebec.

A Myth of Two Nations

As Donald Creighton the historian has pointed out, it is false to view Confederation in 1867 as a compact of two founding "nations". It was an agreement between some of the provinces in British North America. The idea that Confederation was an agreement between the English and French communities or "nations" has been given prominence only in recent years. Certainly the British North America Act recognizes the English and French languages, but nowhere in the Act is there anything about "two nations" or "two founding races".

The institutions around which the framework of Canada was built are overwhelmingly British. The British parliamentary system is universal and though the French civil law is used in Quebec, little else, other than language, has survived from New France. As regards the people who were there "first" to pioneer virgin territory, Canada has many "founding races". Not only British and French but Germans, Ukrainians, Icelanders, Russians, Italians, Americans and of course the native peoples played a major pioneering role. Today, Canadians are many peoples. Consequently, it is a myth that Canada is "two nations" in any but a linguistic sense. In an institutional sense, two is too many. In the

pioneering and the racial composition sense, two is too few. It is a myth perpetrated by French Canadian ultra-nationalists that Canada is "two nations" or "two founding peoples". Canada is simply a huge country which has a French-speaking minority concentrated largely in Quebec, and an English-speaking majority composed of many peoples distributed throughout the country. With the rise of Big Government and French-speaking domination of the state, Canada is *becoming* two nations.

Confederation Myths

The ultranationalists assert that French-speaking Canadians were one of only two founding peoples and demand a special place for French Canadians in consequence. Partly due to their political power exercised via the Canadian and Quebec Governments, French Canadian ultranationalists foster the myth that French-speaking rights have deteriorated since Confederation. Many Canadians believe Government statements that French Canadians have been victimized by the English-speaking majority since Confederation. Indeed, the cumulative effect of these historical and social myths has been for English Canadians to be "psyched" out by French Canadians. English Canadians are accepting injustices and hardships imposed by French-dominated Big Governments as a sort of atonement for the supposed sins of the past.

Confederation created a two-tier system of government. Quebec Province with its French-speaking majority and substantial English-speaking minority came about as a result of Confederation. The British North America Act of 1867 created twelve special seats (out of just over 60) in the Quebec Legislative Assembly (BNA Act, Schedule Two) to ensure English-speaking representation in the Quebec Legislature. The guaranteed representation of seats disappeared

and was formally abolished in the early 1960's. It is English Quebecers who have lost from Confederation. Yet because of French-speaking domination over the political apparatus, many fail to realize just how much English Quebecers have lost. The linguistic debate in Canada is argued on terms set by French-speakers.

Quebec's Discrimination

As stated, English Quebecers as well as French Canadians experience discrimination. Discrimination is symmetrical. In the wake of Bills 22 and 101 it can be argued that English Quebecers are becoming the victims of a more systematically discriminatory process than has been suffered by French Canadians in Canada. Witness attempts under Bill 101 to forbid English signs even in English bookshops. Since the creation of the "language police" with wide powers, it can be charged that the Quebec Government is institutionalizing discrimination against the English-speaking people of that province.

Quebec's Quiet Revolution of the 1960's (which saw an increase in Quebec Government power) resulted in Quiet Discrimination against Quebec's English minority. Recent incidents such as the forcing of non-francophone five year olds to undergo special language tests illustrate that French Canadian ultranationalism operating through the governmental bureaucracy is vicious. In many senses, French Canadian society has been distorted by ultranationalist myths. As a result of believing the myths, French Quebec supports discrimination against the non-French people of the province. Government discrimination by its nature is often subtle so that the discrimination reported in the Canadian press is but the tip of the iceberg.

It is to sociological rather than racial explanations that we must look for the attitudes and actions of French Cana-

dian ultranationalists. For example, Italians dominated American crime in the 1920's and 1930's not because Italians are more criminally inclined than anyone else, but because of socio-economic factors at that time. In examining some social characteristics of French Canadian ultranationalism we are not describing individual or racial characteristics. In the same way that not all Italians were criminals in the 1920's and 1930's, and not all criminals were Italians, not all French Canadians discriminate and not all Canadian discrimination is done by French Canadians. This book treads a fine line, but it offers the reader a framework of ideas to explain and criticize French Canadian ultranationalist actions, often perpetrated through the Canadian and Quebec states. It is an attempt to balance the record and to emphasize that *both* Canadian linguistic solitudes discriminate.

Consequently, no attempt is made to excuse or deny the existence of English Canadian hostility toward French Canadians. The intent is to illustrate that each of the linguistic solitudes has a ledger of justifiable historical and social grievances against the other. French Canadian discrimination is emphasized only to show that it exists — and has existed — despite attempts by the Canadian and Quebec Governments to assert otherwise.

Even so, a major concern is the myth of an unusually intolerant English Canada oppressing the French minority since Confederation, and to explain why French Canada's ultranationalists exaggerate English Canada's discrimination. This is not to say that English Canadian prejudice is non-existent, merely that, in comparison with other majorities, especially the French Canadian majority of Quebec, English Canadians are showing remarkable tolerance. What is happening is that the rest of Canada is liberalizing as regards language rights whereas Quebec is moving in the opposite direction.

New Spain

We need only compare Canada to our neighbor, the United States, to see what happened to the Spanish language, culture and religion in Texas and California. American settlers caused the annexation of New Spain much more recently than the British annexation of New France. Yet there is no indigenous Spanish language and culture in the USA to the degree of French culture in Canada. In Canada, it is possible to attend publicly funded French schools from kindergarten to the Ph.D. level entirely in French. There are French radio and television stations from coast to coast, French-speaking army units and a whole host of French-speaking public officials. In comparison, very little is done for the Spanish of the USA. There is not one publicly funded Spanish Catholic school let alone university in the entire country. There is no chance of Spanish becoming an official language let alone the *only* language of a US state. In contrast, Quebec has declared French to be the only official language of Quebec — and Canada has not disallowed it. In addition, Canada has funded French Catholic schools from the public purse for over one hundred years.

English Canada has not simply tolerated but has encouraged French Canada to a remarkable degree. In truth, French Canada exists because Canada exists. Without Canada, French Canada would be like Spanish California — a slightly quaint part of the American melting pot. Yet, while tolerance is a virtue, it is not far removed from the vice of indifference. Many Canadians in positions of power are indifferent to the adverse social consequences of French Canadian ultranationalism. English Canadian co-operation with Big French Government ranges from the "Uncle Tom" variety — those who defend a bad system they know nothing about — to the outright "Quislings" — those who actively ignore adverse social consequences for their own personal gain.

French Canada — Expansion, not Survival

One myth that deserves to be challenged is that French Canada has been preoccupied with survival since the Conquest in 1760. Canadian history since 1760 is in fact a story of extending French Canada, not eroding it. The expansion of French Canada may have been overshadowed by the growth of English Canada. However, especially since Confederation, French Canada has used its political muscle to expand into all of Canada.

As may be seen in comparing Quebec's changing boundaries since 1763 (Appendix II), Quebec Province has been given *more* extra land than any other province since Confederation. Ungava, which was part of Hudson's Bay Territory since the 1600s, was ceded to Quebec in 1912. Not content with this unparalleled expansion, Quebec's ultranationalists now lay claim to Labrador.

As will be explained in Chapter 6, the French language in the wider world is sickly. In contrast, 60,000 people spoke French on the St. Lawrence when the British took over in 1760; now over five million speak French. The expansion of French-speaking people in Canada is in marked contrast to the fortunes of French-speaking peoples in other parts of the world. This book explains how the expansion of the French language took place in Canada and is still doing so.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 1

1. Colin Campbell, "Canadian Political Facts 1945-1976," Methuen, Toronto, 1977 pp. 87-92.
2. Ibid., p. 118.

2

Myth and Reality in Canada

"The French Canadians continue to march toward the west."

FATHER HAMON

The subtle paradox of Canada is that there is an English-speaking majority within the entire country but a large French-speaking majority in Quebec. Much of this chapter compares the two majorities.

Myths of French Settlement

It must be realized that at the time of the Conquest in 1760, French-speaking people were not the only linguistic group living in what is now Quebec. Not only were there English-speaking peoples living in New France,[1] but the native peoples were then numerous. Yet, from being confined to the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers in 1760, French Canada has spread throughout the country.

The French-speaking Acadians, only 15% of New Brunswick's population in 1871, were almost 40% of the population in 1971. Contrary to the myths, there were only four

French-speaking settlements west of the Ottawa Valley and no French-speaking settlements at all west of Lake Superior prior to 1760. French settlement expanded from the St. Lawrence *after* the Conquest in general and after Confederation in particular.

Richard Joy in "Languages in Conflict"[2] shows that French Canadians have increased greatly in numbers. However, in Canada as a whole, English Canadians have increased faster. In other words, French Canadians have increased absolutely, but have declined proportionately, in Canada. In Quebec, however, they have increased both proportionately and absolutely.

TABLE 3

Linguistic proportions in Canada

		Canada	Quebec
1971	French	26.9	80.7
Census	Non-French	73.1	19.3

Some 6.3% of Ontario's population is French Canadian. Ontario or Upper Canada was pioneered by United Empire Loyalists after the American Revolution and experienced waves of mostly, but by no means entirely, British immigration. The French Canadian migration to Ontario came largely *after* Confederation, often as in the case of the Glengarry region by replacing the original English-speaking farmers. From 1881-1911, French Canadians in Ontario increased from 100,000 to 250,000 — a rise of 150% compared to a general Ontario population rise of 25%.[3] In turn, the educational problems in Ontario at that time reflected the French newcomers' attempts to extend their educational rights.

In contrast, much of Quebec Province was pioneered by English-speaking people, but has become French-

speaking as a consequence of French expansionism in that province. As will be explained, until recently French Quebec had a much higher birth rate than English Quebec.

It is perhaps appropriate to digress slightly in order to explain who "English" Canadians are. The original British conquerors won a war and acted as generous and frequently bilingual victors. The second wave of "English" Canadians were the United Empire Loyalists fleeing from the American Revolution. These American Loyalists had the previous experience and background to develop agriculture in areas of Quebec untouched by French Canadians. The third wave of settlers arrived in the early 1800's often from Scotland or Ulster as well as England. By the 1840's, the Southern Irish were arriving. The fourth major wave started in the last part of the nineteenth century when the "non-French but English" arrived — Ukrainians, Germans, Italians, Poles and so on. Lastly, there are the North American native peoples, who, besides speaking their own language tend to speak English too.

The WASPs — White Anglo-Saxon Protestants — have never had the homogeneity in Canada that they had in the USA. As a result of people such as McGill and Simon Fraser (who spoke Gaelic), the Canadian "establishment" has often been labelled "Anglo-Celtic" rather than "Anglo-Saxon".

In fact, the word "English" is very misleading in that an "English" Canadian refers to a non-French Canadian. An "English" Canadian is simply a Canadian, perhaps from a non-English speaking country, who participates in the English- as opposed to the French-speaking community. As in the United States, many Canadians were born in non-English-speaking countries but regard themselves and are regarded as English-speakers. In turn, linguistic affiliation leads to many diverse groups being labelled "English".

Turning back to French Canadians, we find that they are much more homogeneous than English-speaking Canadians. For social and technological reasons to be discussed, French-speakers have expanded into social and geographical areas pioneered by the "English" — even in Quebec itself.

In brief, French Canada colonized "English" Canada more than it colonized virgin territory as such. In turn, the French Canadian tendency to colonize English Canada explains why facilities such as education arrived late — they arrived after educational institutions were established. Yet French Canada used, and is still using, its political clout in Ottawa to ensure the establishment of institutions for French-speakers. French was an official language only in Quebec and in the Houses of Parliament at Confederation. Now, French is an official language of every agency of the Federal Government (including the Army) throughout the country and abroad.

Quebec and Canadian "Nations" Compared

Today, French-speaking ultranationalists are attempting to make Quebec as French as Ontario is English. The Federal Government, which is dominated by French-speaking Quebecers, has publicly stated that there is nothing wrong with that aim. In reality, Quebec should be about as French in character as Canada is English in character. The size, distribution and historical presence of English- and French-speakers is such that the appropriate comparisons are between Quebec and Canada not Quebec and Ontario.

Showing what happens to Quebec's English-speaking minority and comparing this to Ontario's French-speaking minority is like comparing apples to oranges. Ontario's French-speaking minority consists of 6% of the population whereas Quebec has a 19% non-French minority. Canada has a French-speaking minority consisting of 26% of the

population. In addition, Quebec's ultranationalists assert that Quebec is in fact a "nation". Consequently, we can compare the Canadian and Quebec "nations" in their treatment of linguistic minorities.

Both French and English are official languages of the Canadian federal state, yet Quebec recognizes only French as a language of government. The Canadian Parliament and indeed entire governmental machine works in both French and English at enormous cost to the taxpayer. In contrast, as a prelude to independence, the Parti Québecois is attempting to abolish the use of English in the Quebec Legislative Assembly (The National Assembly) and the Quebec Civil Service pursues a French-only policy, often to the great hardship of English-speaking people. Whereas Canada allows both French and English to be used for laws, Quebec has decreed that only the French version of a law is the official text. The examples are endless and the trend is clear: toward more French in Canada and less English in Quebec for official purposes. Canada is a decentralized, plural society encouraging many diverse groups (including the French minority) whereas Quebec is becoming more and more a centralized, closed society emotionally hostile to the non-French-speaking people of that province.

Ethnically, politically, socially, numerically and historically, Quebec is in fact a mirror image of Canada rather than the other provinces. A mirror reverses everything and Canada has an English majority whereas Quebec has a French majority. Yet the mirror analogy is even more subtle. While Canada is becoming more tolerant and is using more French than ever, Quebec is going in the reverse direction and is becoming less tolerant and is using less English. The contrasting treatment meted out to the Canadian linguistic minority compared to that meted out to the Quebec minority can be traced to French power in the

Federal Government and a total absence of English power in the Quebec Government.

Employees of the two "Nations"

We can analyze the employment patterns of the two "nations" to indicate the two kinds of society.

TABLE 4[4]

% of civil servants who are:

	Canada	Quebec
French-speaking	26	99
Non-French-speaking	74	1

Not only is the proportion of non-French-speaking people employed by the Quebec "nation" tiny, as a consequence of Bill 101 it is actually decreasing. While many Quebec politicians have made pious statements about correcting this imbalance, no concrete steps have been taken. The Parti Québecois Government set up a timetable to rectify the under-representation of French-speakers in Big Business, but no timetable has been set up to alter the under-representation of English-speakers in Big Government. In contrast to Quebec, where English-speakers are almost non-existent in government jobs, in the Federal Government French-speakers are now over-represented, especially in the top jobs.

In turn, the strikingly different employment patterns of each "nation" can be said to reflect the attitudes and values of each society. More is explained about the social nature of French Quebec in other chapters. However, Quebec's discriminatory attitudes to non-French-speakers is indicated here by whom it employs.

Governments of the two "Nations"

We now turn to comparing each "nation" in terms of who is elected to govern it.

TABLE 5

Ethnic composition in the 1960s-1970s *of Quebec's National Assembly*

	Quebec National Assembly	Quebec population
French-speaking	95%	80.7%
Non-French-speaking	5%	19.3%

It must be emphasized that non-French-speaking people have been under-represented in Quebec's Legislative Assembly since long before the election of the Parti Québecois Government. The spirit of Confederation which guaranteed English-speaking representation in Quebec's Legislature has been abandoned by Quebec. Quebec's Legislative Assembly is for the Québecois "nation". Significantly, the Legislature changed its name to the name of France's parliament — the "National Assembly". The PQ Government of Lévesque is entirely French-speaking and contains no native English-speakers at all.

Indicative as the previous statistics may be, more spectacular still is a comparison between Prime Ministers of Canada and Premiers of Quebec. Even prior to Confederation in 1867, Canada elected a French Canadian, Lafontaine, to be the first Prime Minister of Canada East and Canada West combined.

TABLE 6

Time spent as Prime Ministers/Premiers by linguistic origin

	Canada	Quebec
French	28%	100%
Non-French	72%	Nil

Incredible as it may seem, there has never been a native English-speaking Premier of Quebec since Confederation. Several Premiers of Quebec such as Daniel Johnson had

English names but none were native English-speakers. In contrast, Canada has been ruled by French Canadians for just under a third of its history since 1867.

As an aside, it was 1960 before the USA elected a Catholic to the Presidency. In contrast, Canada was electing Catholics as leaders of the country even *prior* to Confederation. In fact, English Canada has politically tolerated the French-speaking Catholic minority to a remarkable degree whereas Quebec has politically discriminated against its English-speaking minority to an equally remarkable degree.

Montreal Situation

Turning to other levels of public life, the City of Montreal alternated French and English mayors when the English were in the majority in the 19th century. The first Mayor of Montreal was in fact a French Quebecer although Montreal's population was mostly English-speaking at that time. Today, almost 40% of Montreal is non-French-speaking but there has been no non-French-speaking Mayor since 1913. Lévesque's biographer, Peter Desbarats, asserts in "The State of Quebec" that there is no chance of a non-Francophone being elected.[5]

In Mayor Drapeau's administration when the Civic Party controlled all the seats, Desbarats points out that there was only one WASP out of the forty-eight City Councillors. A consequence of the French-speaking monopoly of Provincial and City power is the uneven access to municipal jobs. Despite the fact that English Quebecers are more bilingual than French Quebecers,* English-speakers are under-represented in municipal jobs in Montreal. From data on the Montreal Police and Fire Services we can see the effect of Quebec's linguistic policies at the municipal levels:

*See pp. 25, 35, 48.

TABLE 7

Linguistic distribution in Metropolitan Montreal area of:

	Police/Firemen	Total population
French-speaking	90%	62%
Non-French	10%	38%

Dominance at City Council level enables French-speakers to retain a virtual monopoly over City jobs and contracts for public works. For example, the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism shows that French-speaking architects in Quebec were receiving over $2,000 p.a. more than non-French-speakers in the early 1960's.[6] In turn, the discrepancy in architect's incomes was traced to the hiring policies of Quebec's municipal and provincial authorities.

Education

An important indicator of differences between the Canadian and Quebec "nations" is education. The British North America Act of 1867 upon which Canada's constitution is based, can be said to have encouraged French-speaking education by giving the provinces complete control over education. The decentralized, federal nature of Canada as opposed to the centralized nature of Quebec means that in many ways the French minority within Canada has more educational freedom than the English minority within Quebec. We can see that the decentralized nature of Canada allowed Quebec to implement (or not to implement) a French-speaking educational system. Despite efforts and complaints by Quebec's minority, the French majority of Quebec refused to institute compulsory education until 1943 — one of the latest dates amongst Western "nations".

Yet, a major claim by French Canadian ultranationalists

is that English Canada failed to finance French Catholic education outside of Quebec whereas Quebec financed English schools within Quebec. In reality, French Quebec failed to finance either French or English education to any great degree until the 1960's. In 1960 (as in the rest of North America), 65% of Quebec's school expenditure came from local as opposed to provincial sources[7] — Quebec's English minority had to over-tax itself to maintain an educational system. French Quebec refused to spend money on education and is now experiencing the repercussions of this.

In effect, the major culprit in failing to ensure an adequate French-speaking system of education was French-speaking Quebec itself. Surprisingly, French ultranationalists in Government positions criticize only English Canada's neglect of French-speaking education.

In addition, some of the French ultranationalists' criticisms of the other provinces are simply untrue. Yet many Canadians believe the educational myths propagated by ultranationalists in the Governments of Canada and of Quebec.

Manitoba Schools Act Myths

Dr. Laurin, the architect of Bills 1 and 101 (the French Language Charter) wrote in the Montreal Gazette that the 1890 Manitoba Schools Act abolished French-speaking education rights at the stroke of a pen. A Federal Minister from Quebec, Mme. Sauvé, stated that the English-speaking provinces had been extinguishing French language education rights over the years. As a result, Mme. Sauvé said that although Quebec's Bill 101 extinguished many English language rights, it would be "unfair" of the Federal Government to intervene and disallow Bill 101.

Since many people believe the myths about the Manitoba

Schools Act abolishing French, it is worth analyzing the Act to illustrate the real linguistic situation in education.

First, in flat contradiction to what Dr. Laurin states, the Manitoba Schools Act of 1890 did *not* abolish French in Manitoba's schools at all. In addition, French was *not* guaranteed in Manitoba's public schools when Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870. Manitoba's educational provisions in 1870 read: *"In and for the Province, the said legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:*

1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practise in the Province at the union.

2) An appeal shall lie with the Governor-General-in-Council from any act or decision of the legislature of the Province, or of any provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education."

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upheld the Manitoba Schools Act in 1892. The Committee pointed out that the French-speaking Roman Catholic Schools that existed at the time of the Union in 1870 were in fact private schools not supported by public funds. The Manitoba Schools Act of 1890 did not abolish these private schools — children were still free to attend them. The Manitoba Schools Act prevented *private* denominational schools from being converted into *publicly funded* denominational schools.[8]

In order to understand the absence of public French-speaking schools in 1870, we must realize that there were virtually no unilingual French-speaking children native to Manitoba prior to the 1870s. Only four French-speaking

women had emigrated to Manitoba prior to 1870. French was in fact one of the languages used by non-whites in Manitoba — which may be the origin of "speak white" which still upsets French Canadians. This insult reflected the racial origin of those who spoke French in the Canadian West — the Métis or "half-breeds".

There were two kinds of voyageurs employed by the North West Fur Company in the 18th and early 19th centuries. One group of voyageurs travelled back and forth to Montreal whereas the second group of voyageurs travelled only among the Indians west of Lake Superior. This second group of voyageurs had to live as Indians so that the North West Company would not have to supply them with European goods. The North West Company discouraged a European way of life amongst these traders because of the long line of communications to Montreal. As a result, English- and French-speaking Métis came into being — the products of intermarriage between the North West traders and the Indians. In 1870, 4,000 Métis spoke English and Cree while 5,000 spoke French and Cree. It was not till 1885 that there were sufficient French-speaking Quebec settlers for the Census to distinguish between "half-breeds" and French Quebecers in Manitoba. In contrast, there were just under 2,000 "white" settlers in 1870 most of whom were native English-speakers.

The original European settlers were of course Lord Selkirk's Scots at Red River. St. Boniface, Manitoba, which *became* French-speaking was named in honor of the patron saint of Germany, St. Boniface, by its Hessian and Swiss-German founders.

The semi-nomadic Métis were far more concerned with land than linguistic rights. The Métis left Manitoba with the arrival of large numbers of settlers and moved farther west to Saskatchewan. The fuss surrounding the use of French in the 1890s came from recent Quebec immigrants

or from missionaries and ultranationalists who wished to *extend* French into the West.

The Manitoba Schools Act of 1890 dealt with a vast influx of immigrants from many lands — and only a tiny minority spoke French. The French-speakers who arrived after 1870 tried to establish public school funding on the basis that there were French Catholic missionary schools prior to 1870. As indicated, the Manitoba Schools Act of 1890 refused special status to French *Catholic* schools.

It must be emphasized that in the last quarter of the 19th Century, public funding of Catholic schools was being phased out all over Europe — *including* France. In addition, the public funding of Catholic schools has never been allowed in the USA.

This is not to say that there was no anti-French feeling in 1890 Manitoba. Quebec had just passed the Jesuit Estates Act which gave public money to the Jesuits. There was anti-French feeling and it was increased by the Quebec ultranationalists of the 1890s. Father Hamon wrote in 1891: "The French Canadians . . . continue to march toward the West. The policy of the Church is to guide the movement, plan and forward settlement, establish the Parish system, the parochial school, and the religious and national societies; then, to watch and wait for provincial developments, that she may mass and lead the people for the effective overthrow of Protestant error and paganism . . . The French Canadian race is God's chosen people to save North America and to restore its population to the bosom of the Church of Rome. Is this a dream? No, it is more; it is an everyday issue."[9]

The Manitoba Schools Act of 1890 was attacked by ultranationalists since it made the State, not the Church, supreme in education. It was at their insistence that French education be allied to Catholic education. As a result of Quebec pressure, Ottawa in turn put pressure on

Manitoba to alleviate the terms of the Manitoba Schools Act. Thus, in 1914, Manitoba had publicly funded schools in French, German, Icelandic and English. Until 1916, *any* language could be used in Manitoba's schools if there were ten or more children in a school district requesting the language. There were French-speaking publicly financed schools from kindergarten to Normal School (Teacher's Training College) in pre-war Manitoba. In contrast to the lack of Federal pressure upon Quebec as regards Bills 22 and 101, the Federal Government exerted considerable pressure upon Manitoba in 1890. This Federal pressure resulted in the Laurier-Greenway compromise of 1896 which allowed religious teaching after lessons. Public school attendance was not compulsory because of the right of Catholics to separate private schools.

In 1914, war broke out against Germany and there were anti-war riots in Quebec. All the non-English schools were felt to be socially divisive in Manitoba. In 1916, only English-speaking schools were to be publicly financed.

However, the French-speaking schools reappeared and *both* French and English are official languages of public instruction in Manitoba today. There is French-speaking education all the way to Teacher's Training College level.[10]

Needless to say, the schools of other linguistic origins did *not* reappear in Manitoba. Groups such as the German Mennonites emigrated or assimilated.

Consequently, we can see that Confederation led to the establishment of Franco-Manitobans. The 40,000 French-speaking Manitobans of today would have been treated in exactly the same way as all other immigrants were it not for Confederation. The French Canadians who migrated to New England in the 1890s have lost their language. Had British North America remained as separate sovereign provinces, French-speakers entering provinces outside of Quebec would have been unable to use Ottawa to preserve

their language. As indicated, Confederation has in reality resulted in the establishment of French education throughout Canada.

Language Learning in Quebec and Canada

Turning to other general educational issues, French Canadian ultranationalists become upset because the French minority of Canada is more bilingual than the English majority. French Canadian intellectuals declare that the burden of Canadian bilingualism should not be carried by the French minority. However, if we look at Quebec, we find that English Quebec is more bilingual than the French majority and Bill 1 asserts that the minority ought to bear the burden of bilingualism. In reality, all that happens is that in social interaction, the minority learns the majority language. Yet, the attitudes in each "nation" are indicated by the following educational figures:

TABLE 8

In Quebec's schools: % within each language sector speaking:[11]

	English only	French only
At 6 years	36%	47%
At 13 years	0.0	64%

In Quebec, the school system ensures that the children in "English-speaking" schools are bilingual by around 13 years of age — according to Quebec's own "Annuaire du Quebec". In contrast, in Quebec's French-speaking school system, knowledge of English actually falls over the years. Quebec's French schools are a device to keep out English rather than instruments to enable the learning of English. According to a McGill University survey, Quebec's French Catholic School Boards will not hire native English-

speakers for French-speaking schools; the French Teacher's Union, the CEQ has an official policy aimed at eliminating all English education from the province, and many French-speaking public schools simply refuse to teach English.

As a result of this ultranationalistic system of public education, some 12% of French Quebecers at the secondary level attend private schools — where English is taught and where native English-speakers are often employed to teach English. As is well known, the surveys of the several dozen children of French Quebec's Cabinet Ministers from 1967-1977 show that virtually none of the children attend public schools — they go to private schools. Much to the annoyance of French ultranationalists, immigrants prefer the bilingual English sector to the unilingual French sector of public education. Nor is there any great desire among French Quebecers to enter their children in the unilingual public system, but they have no choice.

Consequently, it is hardly surprising that successive Quebec Governments have had to adopt legislation coercing people into the unilingual French school sector (Bills 22 and 1). The parents who have a choice, such as those in the Cabinet, avoid the issue by sending their own children to private schools.

In contrast to the intentional, organized negativism toward English within Quebec, Canada displays a greater degree of tolerance to the French language in schools. While the levels of French reached in English Canadian schools are not high, the following figures illustrate the attempt to learn French.

TABLE 9

Rest of Canada: % speaking[11]

	English only	French only
6 Years	90.6	3.8
13 Years	68.1	.9

In English Canada, schools perform an educative role and attempt to teach children the second language. More children speak French as a consequence of English Canadian education. Yet, by travelling in different directions, these figures tell us the kind of educational ideals that are pursued in the school systems. In turn, educational ideals reflect the society from which they spring. English Canada tolerates French whereas French Canada artificially decreases English usage as much as possible.

Other Indicators

There are in fact many other kinds of indicators that can be used to illustrate the social attitudes of the two "nations". Ottawa, the capital of Canada, is becoming more French and attempts to be bilingual. In contrast, Quebec City is totally French and although in the nineteenth century over one-third of the city was English, partly as a consequence of excluding Anglophones from government jobs, the English minority has been declining both absolutely and proportionately in that city. Quebec City hides the fact that it is the provincial capital for over one million non-francophones.

A simple but symbolic indicator of the social outlook of Canada and Quebec is their flags. Canada abandoned the Red Ensign containing the Union Jack and adopted the Maple Leaf to accommodate French Canadian sentiments. In contrast, Quebec's flag consisting of a white cross and white fleur-de-lys on a blue background represents the autocratic monarchy of pre-Revolutionary France and the Roman Catholic Church. Canada's flag attempts to unite and represent everyone whereas Quebec asserts its past no matter how alien and offensive that past might be to its minority. In addition, Canada adopted the Maple Leaf after an open, public debate. The Quebec flag was adopted by Duplessis with virtually no public discussion.

In general, Canada encourages French Canadians whereas Quebec has a history of discriminating against minorities. Everett Hughes in "French Canada In Transition"[12] comments upon French Quebec's discrimination: "Given the mentality of defense against alien pressure and influence bred by a century and a half of minority existence, it is but natural that French Canadian eyes should see the hand of cultural aliens in all their difficulties. Whether their eyes deceive them does not concern us in this discussion."

The fact that their eyes deceive them is the essence of this book.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 2

1. "Abraham Martin dit l'Écossais", for whom the Plains of Abraham were named may have been a Scots sailor. At least several hundred English-speaking people lived in pre-Conquest Quebec. Even then they controlled much of the economic life of the province and Quebec's Governors hesitated to act against them for fear of economic repercussions.

 The best account of the Fall of New France from the French viewpoint was written by a Scotsman from Edinburgh called Johnston. Johnston was Montcalm's aide-de-camp and had relatives in Wolfe's army.

 See also "The Scottish Tradition In Canada," Edited by W. Stanford Reid, McClelland and Stewart/Ministry of Supply, 1976;

 and Brian Connell, "The Plains of Abraham," Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1959.
2. Richard Joy, "Languages In Conflict," McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1972.
3. "Minorities, Schools and Politics," Edited by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger, University of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 66.
4. On April 28, 1976 Robert Bourassa, Quebec's Premier, indicated that less than 300 English-speakers were employed in a civil service of over 30,000.
5. Peter Desbarats, "The State of Quebec," McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1965.
6. Donald Armstrong, "Education And Economic Achievement," Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Information Canada, 1970, pp. 25, 27.

7. Statistics Canada, "Education In Canada," 1960-1970, p. 372.
8. Lovell Clark, Editor, "The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights?" Copp Clark Publishing Co., Toronto, 1968.
9. Father Hamon, quoted in Robert Sellars, "The Tragedy of Quebec," Ontario Press Ltd., Toronto, 1916, p. 287.
10. David Munroe, "The Organization And Administration Of Education In Canada," Secretary of State: Education Support Branch, Information Canada, 1974, pp. 86-94.
11. "Annuaire du Quebec," 1973, p. 333.
12. Everett Hughes, "French Canada In Transition," Phoenix Books, Chicago, 1967, p. 217.

3

Myth and Reality in Quebec

"The French language has always been the language of the Quebec people."

QUEBEC'S POLICY ON THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, MARCH, 1977

A major myth propagated by French-speaking ultra-nationalists is that French Quebec is in danger of dying out. In turn, this is used to justify the measures taken against English Quebecers. In reality, French Quebec experienced the world's largest known population increase and is replacing English-speaking Quebec both absolutely and proportionately. There were around 60,000 people in French Canada in 1760. Today, there are over 5 million. In pre-Confederation Quebec one in four was English-speaking, today it is less than one in five.

Prior to 1760, French Canada was largely made up of pockets of settlements technologically confined to rivers. We forget that the British pioneered the Agricultural Revolution as well as the Industrial Revolution. Consequently, the superior farming techniques used by 19th century English-speaking settlers enabled them to pioneer vast areas of what is now Quebec that French Canada could not, and did not, exploit.

Confederation set up Quebec Province with a French-speaking majority. The various safeguards for the English-speaking minority were gradually dropped so that, today, Quebec is officially a unilingual French-speaking Province — in direct contradiction to the spirit of Confederation which recognizes both the French and the English languages in Quebec. The British North America Act provides that:

> *Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses, and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec.*
> *The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.*[1]

The diminution of the rights and power of English Quebecers reflects the diminution of their numbers. Census data show clearly that since the formation of the Quebec Government in 1867, English-speaking people have been gradually replaced by French-speakers in the social and geographic territory that they occupied in Quebec.

For example, a study by the Office de Planification et de Développement du Quebec, "Les Sociétés d'État et les Objectifs Économiques du Québec" shows that the para-public services are a social area from which Anglophones are systematically being excluded. The study shows linguistic proportions before and after enterprises come under the control of the Quebec Government.

For instance, the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Ltd. steel plant at Contrecoeur had a 35% proportion of English-speaking managers before nationalization but only 10% after nationalization. As the study explains, the Provincial Steel Corporation, Sidbec, is involved in the promotion of French Canadian cadres. There are over 35,000 workers employed by Quebec's para-public services and according to the study these are now overwhelmingly Francophone. The various Crown corporations systematically favor Francophones and each corporation makes a contribution to careers in French for French-speakers.

TABLE 10

Percentage of English-speakers in:

	Eastern Townships	Ottawa Valley	Gaspé
1871	61%	55%	36%
1971	13.3%	16%	12%

(Statistics Canada)

In his book, "Languages in Conflict," Richard Joy[2] shows clearly that English-speakers declined absolutely as well as proportionately in rural Quebec — from 160,000 to 85,000 between 1871 and 1961.

Consequently, it is English- rather than French-speakers who have lost out by Confederation. The French Language Charter of 1977 which finally eliminates English from the official life of the Province is only the closing chapter in a long tale.

It is ironic but indicative of the real situation in Quebec that Premier Lévesque, the separatist leader, was born in the Gaspé town of New Carlisle, an English-speaking town taken over by French expansionism. New Carlisle and Mr. Lévesque are a microcosm of the real linguistic story of Quebec. French Quebecers take over social and geographic

territory originally English then demand not only that French be predominant, but that French be the *only* language used. Considering his birthplace, Mr. Lévesque's assertion that French has always been the language of the people of Quebec is particularly untrue and offensive. In fact, many English-speaking people are replaced in Quebec by French-speaking newcomers to places such as New Carlisle.

Immigration and Emigration

A second major myth is that immigration is and has been a threat to the French majority of Quebec. If we look at the largest immigrant group over the years, the British, we find that the proportion of Quebecers of British descent *including some who now speak only French* has dropped from 20% of the total population in 1871 to 10% in 1971.[3] The decline and replacement of British Quebecers partly reflects English-speaking Quebec's tendency to emigrate. Immigration maintains rather than increases that 20% of the population that is non-French in Quebec.

In fact, the non-French proportion of Quebec's population has hovered around 20% for all of this century. As is fairly well known, Montreal had an English-speaking majority until it was flooded by rural French Quebecers in the last part of the 19th century. The 1931 Census shows 620,000 French to 265,000 British in Montreal. In 1961, the Census shows 1,353,000 French to only 378,000 British. There were, of course, English-speaking people of non-British descent in Montreal too, yet the trend is clear. The expansion of French Quebec into English Quebec's geographical and social territory resulted in the emigration of English Quebecers. Consequently, it is fundamentally inaccurate to view Francization as a *re*-conquest — it is a colonization process of areas that were never French.

The systematic destruction of English place and street names each year is simply another indicator of the French expansionary process in Quebec. Abbotsford became St. Paul d'Abbotsford, Fraserville became Rivière du Loup, Burnside became de Maisonneuve, Kilkenny became St. Calixte and Howard became St. Adolphe de Howard — to quote only a few. The Quebec City newspaper, the Chronicle Telegraph, has gone, but so too have most English-speaking people from that city. Quebec's White Paper of 1977 demanding that English place names be francized is simply speeding up the colonization process.

English Quebec's Bilingualism

A third major myth propagated by French ultranationalists is that English Quebecers do not speak and have never spoken French. Some even maintain that English-speaking people are somehow incapable of learning French.

In reality, English Canadians have been bilingual from the very start when interacting with French Canadians. For example, it was a group of bilingual Fraser Highlanders who played a vital role in capturing Quebec — they fooled the guards on top of the cliff by pretending to be French. Less well known, but perhaps more important, the same bilingual and literate Frasers, especially Simon Fraser, captured the Fur Trade, partly because French Canadians were unable to speak English — as is increasingly the case in modern Quebec.

Yet railways, shipbuilding, the aircraft industry, computers and so on were started in what is now Quebec by English-speaking workers. Incredible as it may seem, the British brought the first printing press to Quebec City and Ben Franklin brought a Frenchman to operate the first press in Montreal — until then New France had no news-

papers. However, the social consequence of French Canada being unable to keep technologically abreast of English Canada is that French Canadians have to enter industries *after* English Canadians have started them. In turn, this explains the French ultranationalist complaint of the absence of French from Quebec's industry. In other words, French Quebecers are newcomers to geographic and social areas pioneered by English Quebecers. Even in Montreal's English hospitals, the Minister of Social Affairs demanded that charts and so on be in French because some of the orderlies were French. The Minister declared that "50% of the patients were French" when in fact the French have their own hospitals in Montreal.

Contrary to Mr. Lévesque's "Westmount Rhodesian" jibes, Census figures show that 37% of English Quebecers speak French whereas only 25% of French Quebecers speak English. As school figures show, and as Richard Joy indicates, French Quebecers are losing their ability to speak English despite an expensive public school system. The Gendron Commission reported that English workers in Quebec are more likely to use French than French Quebec workers are to use English. In a nutshell, English Quebec learns, uses, speaks and works in French far more than French Quebec does in English. Yet, in the language White Paper for example, French ultranationalists perpetuate myths about language so as to justify oppressive and restrictive measures against the non-French community. The French Canadian domination over the Canadian and Quebec governments prevents the introduction of publicly funded studies to bring out the truth.

Top Jobs in Quebec

A fourth major social fiction, mentioned in Quebec's

White Paper, concerns the under-representation of French Quebecers in "top jobs". It is true that the highest paid 12% of Quebec's population are uniligual Anglophones. Yet the unilingual Anglophones who, to the annoyance of French ultranationalists, hold some of Quebec's top jobs, tend not to be native Quebecers. Porter's "Vertical Mosaic,"[4] Blishen's "Social Class and Opportunity In Canada,"[5] Copp's "Anatomy of Poverty"[6] and Hughes' "French Canada In Transition"[7] show clearly that British and American immigrants rather than native English Quebecers tend to hold the top jobs.

For example in Hughes' study of a French Canadian town, "French Canada in Transition," only one French Canadian was found in the top twenty-five jobs of a local mill. However, there were only *three* English Canadians — the rest were immigrants largely from Britain. Hughes' description of a top manager to some degree still applies in Quebec: "He belongs, however, to a breed of man in whom British firms have great confidence — the itinerant Scottish accountant and office manager, hard and loyal at work, genial and friendly among colleagues at play."[8]

If we analyze Quebecers born in Quebec of British descent and compare them to British born and educated people now living in Quebec, we find the immigrants are better qualified and paid than the native English Quebecers.

The under-representation of *both* English and French Quebecers native to the province partly reflects Quebec's chronic educational deficiencies. The people of Ontario and Britain, for example, had compulsory education in 1870. Despite protests by English-speaking School Boards, Quebec's ultranationalists deferred compulsory education until 1943. *Both* English and French Quebec have been educationally handicapped by Quebec's ultranationalism.

TABLE 11

% Distribution in the social class structure of Quebec, 1961[9]

	British immigrants	Other Canadian born, but living in Quebec	Quebec born
Social Class 1	15.78	3.80	3.52
Social Class 2	14.18	4.15	3.83
Social Class 3	20.54	8.83	3.89

As Porter and Blishen point out, all over Canada the native Canadians are under-represented in the top social classes — but particularly so in Quebec. Consequently, the highest paid people in Quebec are the highest paid not because of racial factors, but because of educational factors. Education is firmly controlled by the provinces under Section 93 of the BNA Act. Therefore, lower salaries for French and English Quebecers born in the province are a consequence of Quebec's decision not to institute an educational structure prior to the 1960's (when the present wage earners were educated). This is illustrated in Quebec's low educational spending:

TABLE 12

$ per pupil on education[10, 11]

	1946	1956	1966	1973	1974
Quebec	66	153	473	1187	1312
Ontario	102	242	504	1096	1248
Canada	85	202	465	1071	1223

As regards the very top jobs in head offices situated in Quebec, ultranationalists complain that only around 8% are held by French Quebecers. Canadian and Quebec Gov-

ernment officials tirelessly point out that 80% of Quebec is French and only 8% of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Montreal's multinational companies are French. However, we can see that a multinational company has to encourage promotions from all the areas that it deals with and not just the area where its Head Office is located. Therefore, both English and French Quebecers born in the province are under-represented in head offices in Montreal because of the international catchment areas of modern companies. However, the justice of allowing *all* the employees a chance to become senior executives escapes Quebec's ultranationalists in the Quebec and Canadian Governments.

As a result of companies finding it difficult to persuade people to come to Quebec and have their children subjected to a discriminatory school system, many companies move their head offices out. In turn, we can see how ultranationalism contributes to the economic decline of the province. Mr. Laurin, the architect of Quebec's language law stated publicly that even if Quebec lost an estimated 20,000 jobs in 1977 because of Bill 101, it would be a small price to pay for the supremacy of French. Needless to say, Mr. Laurin's own job is not one that will be lost.

Both English and French native Quebecers are under-represented in many other social areas. In English Quebec's universities, as in the rest of Canada, many of the professors are Americans, and some of the remainder are British or Canadians from outside of Quebec. However, the Quebec Government has instituted a "rattrapage" (catch-up) policy in education applicable *only* to French Quebec's educational institutions. This policy is still in effect. Yet the native English Quebecers need to catch up too, as their under-representation in universities indicates.

Educational Discrimination

This then brings us to the fifth major Quebec myth, that the Anglophone minority has equality of treatment with the Francophone majority in the area of education. Premier Lévesque at the Premier's Conference in New Brunswick in 1977 demanded that the other provinces be as generous to the French minority as Quebec is to the English minority. The Quebec delegation released information to the effect that Quebec spent $2,500 in taxi fares to enable an English student from St. Grégoire to attend an English school — thus showing how generous Quebec was.

In reality, Quebec is highly unusual as regards the degree of educational discrimination in the province. We can appreciate the degree of discrimination in Quebec by analyzing well known situations in Britain and the USA.

The British have unequal economic inputs into private as opposed to state schools. British parents can use private schools to purchase smaller class sizes than the state schools provide. Yet, to gain access to higher education, state school students have to perform at the same intellectual level as private school students. In a nutshell, British state school students have to achieve the same with less.

We can use the USA to illustrate a different kind of unequal educational opportunity. Minorities such as Jewish or black students were subject to a "quota" by many American universities. As a result, only very clever members of the minorities could attend university. An unequal intellectual output was imposed upon minority students as compared to majority students.

In analyzing Quebec, we see that the English minority is subject to *both* types of educational discrimination. On the one hand Quebec's minority, like the state schools in Britain, experiences an unequal economic input. On the other hand, as with many American minorities, Quebec's minority is

also faced with an unequal intellectual output. Unlike the British and American educational discrimination, Quebec's discrimination is double edged in nature. The equivalent situation would be as if British state school students received less money than private school students *and then* had to sit a more difficult series of examinations to qualify as professionals or to gain access to higher education.

We first analyze the unequal economic input into French as opposed to English education in Quebec.

Around 97% of Quebec's students graduate from high school at Grade 11, so that French/English retention rates (the length of time spent in school) are about as equal as can be. While each linguistic group receives similar basic grants at the School Board level, the peculiar feature of Quebec's educational spending is that so much is done directly by the Provincial Department of Education.

TABLE 13

$ per head spent by Provincial Departments of Education[11]

	1971	1972
Quebec	171	180
Ontario	74	72
Canada	112	114

There are over one and a quarter million students in elementary and secondary schools in Quebec, so we must ask why does the Quebec Department of Education spend so much more than other provinces? The reason is, as Quebec's teachers pointed out during their strike in 1976/77, partly bureaucracy, but also the large number of special programs for French as distinct from English school children.

Starting with the kindergarten level, there is a special "Welcome Program" for the French, but not English, school

sector reported by the press to cost between $23 and $35 million. The program's title indicates who is *not* welcomed by the Quebec Department of Education since it does not apply to English schools. Among older children, there is an entire "French as a Mother Tongue" program. There is of course no equivalent program for Quebec's English minority. Yet, a survey by the Montreal Catholic School Commission indicates that reading levels in their English Schools are actually inferior to the very low average American reading levels. The Quebec Home and School Association showed that $275 million in Federal funds paid to the Provincial Government to aid minority education was diverted away from Quebec's English minority schools. In turn, we can see that the French Canadian domination at Federal levels of administration co-operates with the French Canadian monopoly at the Provincial levels by allowing the discriminatory diversion of Federal funds.

In 1971, the Audio-Visual Program budget of Quebec's Department of Education exceeded $3 million, yet, of the over 70 funded projects, not one was for English-speaking pupils. The correspondence courses for high school graduation have not *one* course available for English-speaking people. There are subsidies of several million dollars to fly teachers and pupils to France, but no similar monies for travel to England or the USA.

At adult levels, the Parti Québecois Government regarded the spending of $350,000 on English classes as excessive and cancelled the classes. Yet this sum represented only 3.5% of the total of $10 million being spent on French and English lessons. Even Quebec's prisons are not immune, and the 40 English-speaking prisoners in Laval Penitentiary (a Federal Institution) found that only one course was available to them. According to an inmate's complaint published in the Montreal Star, the instructors were ordered not to use English. Turning to university levels, we can see

that the discrimination in public funding per head appears to be more pronounced than in the schools.

TABLE 14

$ per head spent by the Quebec Government on University Students (1971)[12]

English-speaking	$1,600
French-speaking	$2,400

Consequently, we can see that over a three year degree course, some $2,400 *more* per student is spent on French as opposed to English courses. As regards disparities in the late 1970's, the Quebec Government claims that it is the type of courses pursued in French Quebec's universities (such as medical courses) that justifies disparities. However, one should walk around Laval University with its indoor tennis courts and Olympic-sized swimming pool and then around Concordia with its rented office space and reportedly poorest university library in Canada to appreciate the consequences of the Quebec Government's discrimination in the distribution of educational funds.

There is very little fuss surrounding the disparity in public funding per head in universities even though inflation has probably increased the differential during the 1970's. It must also be said that there are differentials among the universities themselves. McGill appears to be better funded than Concordia.

To estimate the total inequalities per head is difficult and varies according to what one defines as discrimination. The problem is not whether there are inequalities, but in determining how great the inequalities per head actually are. The Quebec Government has never made a public statement on the size of disparities between the sectors. Instead, it announces piecemeal programs for French as opposed to

English schools. The following is an illustration that disparities exist rather than an exact calculation of those disparities.

Canadian school spending is conducted on two main levels, the School Board and Department of Education. At the level of the Department of Education, the Ontario Department spends only $72 per student whereas the Quebec Department spends $180 per student — the highest by far in Canada. Therefore, if we use Ontario as an indicator of legitimate administrative overheads, this suggests that perhaps $100 per child per annum more goes in Quebec to the French as opposed to the English speaking school sector. In a child's educational life, Quebec's English children probably receive $1,100 less because of school level discrimination plus around $3,000 — $4,000 less because of discrimination at CEGEP (Junior College) and university. In brief, around $4,000 per child *less* is spent upon English- than upon French-speaking children between kindergarten and university. This means that the average family of 3.7 children receives very different degrees of public support depending upon their linguistic origin. As a result of Bill 101, many students enrolled in English schools now receive no Provincial funding at all. Consequently, these children, or "non-persons" as they were called by Quebec's Minister of Education, will receive, throughout their school life, around $15,000 less than French children between kindergarten and grade 11. We can see that the termination of all funds to some non-francophone children is in fact a development of an existing discriminatory situation rather than a new development in itself. However, again it must be emphasized that these are estimates made from published totals. Accurate figures could come only from a properly constituted public inquiry, which neither level of government, federal or provincial, has shown any interest in establishing.

Looking at the discrimination in another way, we can see that around $125 million per annum is unfairly directed to the French as opposed to the English school sector. Then there are the millions for the higher levels of education. Consequently, Quebec's spending of $2,500 on an English speaking child's taxis is misleading. Quebec's language tests on 5 year olds and coercion of English-speaking children into unilingual French schools are merely the conspicuous tip of a discriminatory iceberg facing all of Quebec's non-French-speaking children. It means that in Quebec's biased system of distributing public funds, whereby private schools are subsidized from public funds, Francophone children who happen to be from the wealthier families receive more public educational subsidies than Anglophone children who happen to be from poorer families. Language is not a just basis to distribute educational resources.

We turn now to the really unjust aspect of the inequality between the French majority and English minority — the unequal educational performance required. The burden of bilingualism falls heavier upon English than French Quebecers. French has been declared the only official language of Quebec, and, both Provincial and Federal Governments attempt to make French the language of work. Children in the English school system have far more requirements in French than French students have in English.[13] For instance under Bill 22 and Bill 101, twenty-two professions licensed in Quebec require a technical knowledge of French (but not English) even for professionals working entirely in English with English-speaking people. Consequently, an unequal performance is required of the two solitudes since French children do not have to learn English even if they might be dealing with English-speaking people. The Toronto Globe and Mail of August 17, 1977 reported the Director of the Order of Nurses in Quebec, Nicole de Mouchel, as stating that shift work made it difficult for

nurses to learn French and that English-speaking nurses who do not pass the written and oral language tests will not be granted a licence to practise. As a result, if a nurse fails the French language tests, but passes everything else, she still cannot practise in another province. A would-be nurse who fails only the French language tests is not qualified to practise in English-speaking parts of Canada. Therefore, we can see a major indicator of ultranationalist discrimination against the English minority. Quebec's minority is compelled to attain proficiency in two languages with fewer resources than are available to the French majority. Anglophones are required to achieve more with less.

Provinces such as Ontario allow nurses to choose *either* English or French for qualifying examinations.

In contrast, Quebec has made French the only official language, and people, even native English-speakers, are not allowed to qualify in English. In essence, English-speakers are being forced to assimilate into French schools if they want to qualify in Quebec. The burden of bilingualism has been placed upon the English-speaking minority with a vengeance.

As has been shown, *both* English- and French-born Quebecers need to "catch up". As a result of discriminatory language laws and the discriminatory distribution of public funds, the "catching up" *to* the Anglophones of the early 1960's has become the "holding back" *of* the Anglophones in the 1970's.

White Paper Myths

At the risk of some repetition, it is worth tracing the legislative sequence of Quebec's language policy. First it was expressed in the Parti Québecois White Paper on Language, then in Bill 1 which followed it, and now in Bill 101 (the Charter of the French language) which is the law. The White Paper unintentionally explodes many myths about

the nature of the PQ Government and French Quebec's ultranationalism. Bill I on the French language shows that the PQ Government is more nationalist than socialist. As regards language rights, Péquistes are not so much democratic socialists as they are National Socialists. That is, the only language of society is the "national" one — French, and the society is to become more French. The White Paper uses terms such as "A reconquest by the French", which is the kind of language one associates more with National Socialism than with democratic socialism.

Quebec's White Paper on Language is characterized by half truths. A microcosm of the paper's social fiction rather than social fact is the first sentence of Bill 1 which claims that French has always been the language of the people of Quebec. In reality Indians and Inuit have lived in Quebec since 4,000 years before Jacques Cartier, there are over one million non-Francophones in Quebec, and over one and a quarter million Francophones speak English. The remainder of the White Paper is constructed in the spirit of the quoted sentence. Many remarkable evasions of honesty and truth stand to be corrected in this document. Yet the White Paper is important because it reflects ultranationalist thinking. It is widely believed and was apparently constructed and reconstructed nine times by over 200 of French Quebec's intellectuals. It is a document reflective of a nationalist group, not a rushed pamphlet from a lunatic fringe.

Population is a flow of births, deaths, immigration, emigration and re-migration. The White Paper selects some data from this flow of people, such as immigration but not emigration, and creates demographic fantasies about Quebec's population. It then declares that French Quebec is in need of demographic defending and proceeds to outline how French Quebec is to be expanded demographically.

The paper shows that 70% of Quebec's immigrants join the English community in Quebec, but omits the fact

that 75% of Quebec's emigrants are from *English* as opposed to French Quebec.[14] Yet Statistics Canada shows clearly that Quebec's emigration rates are *higher* in the 1970's than its immigration rates.

The paper states that Quebec Province has the lowest birth rates in Canada. However, if we analyze natural growth rates in Canada (births minus deaths) we find that over the last two censuses, Francophone natural growth rates are *higher* than those of Anglophones.[15] In reality, it is the Anglophone community of Quebec that is proportionately and absolutely declining relative to the Francophone community. The terminating of a bilingual Quebec and the reconquest of Quebec heralded in the Language Policy are a demographic self-fulfilling prophecy.

Under this policy, "immigrants" to Quebec, even from English-speaking Canada are to be coerced into the unilingual French school sector. Yet the French school sector already consists of 83%[16] of the pupils whereas only 80.9% of the general population is French, As a consequence of the flow of people, 45% of English Quebec's adults were born outside of Canada,[17] let alone Quebec. So, we can see that the English school sector will be cut from its 1977 size[18] of 17% of the pupils to a maximum of 9% *even* if pupils from other provinces are admitted into English schools.

Lest readers believe the myths that French-speaking students are over-represented in Quebec's *English* schools, the Annuaire du Quebec of 1975-76 provides the following information.

TABLE 15

Numbers in the school sectors of Quebec[19]

	In English schools	In French schools
Numbers in the other language group's schools (French in English schools and English in French schools)	25,581	10,440
Total number of students in school	190,089	1,206,081

We can see that there are just over 25,000 French-speaking students in English schools and 10,000 English students in French schools. Yet, as a proportion, around 2% of French-speaking children go to English schools whereas over 5% of English-speaking children go to French schools. Despite the myths about English Quebec being aloof and not integrating with French Quebec, English Quebecers are proportionately *more* likely to attend French schools than French students are to attend English schools.

The language bill does not conserve the French unilingual school sector, it expands it to at least 91% of the total. In turn, we can see that non-French Quebec, already under-represented in the school sector, will not be proportionately replacing itself. After Bill 22, the French kindergarten was pushed up to 86% of the total in two years, so these Acts are effective.

Besides demography, a major myth in the language policy concerns the burden of bilingualism. It uses figures from previous reports about the use of English by English workers in Quebec as proof that *French* workers had to use English. According to a French Canadian demographer, Jacques Henrypin, "Westmount Rhodesia" is perhaps the most bilingual community in Canada.[20] Proportionately,

English Quebecers learn, speak, and work more in French than French Quebecers do in English. Yet a consequence of the language policy is to deliberately make the burden of bilingualism even heavier upon English Quebecers — especially their children. The policy makes no attempt to aid English Quebec in meeting this burden.

Another half-truth concerns the under-representation of French Quebecers in top jobs. As stated earlier, the policy omits to mention that *both* English and French natives of the province are under-represented in top jobs. The disturbing aspect of the policy is that it adopts an openly racial explanation and racial solution to an educational phenomenon, as the following extracts show:

". . . unilingual French Quebecers (61%) were for the most part obliged to work in subordinate positions. For this category of worker, chronically underprivileged, there was no question of any 'second language' other than English; it was the key to promotion. This restrictive concept will certainly change once every Quebecer is in a position to demand to be allowed to work in his own language. . .

"French-speaking workers in Quebec have been in underprivileged positions in far too many business firms, because the language of work, in varying degrees, has been English. . .

"The English as members of an 'exclusive club', had the best jobs and positions, by retaining English as a necessity and as a barrier. . .

"This situation imposes on the French-speaking worker an oppressive working condition: the obligation, whether tacit or express, to speak a language which is not their own in order to obtain a certain job, attain a certain promotion, or aspire to a certain career program. . .

"This obligation tends to keep the mass of French-speak-

ing workers in an inferior position and furthermore works in favor of the promotion of another group which already has the best positions, higher pay, and a certain degree of power and prestige. . .

"Among conquered minorities, those relegated to the bottom of the heap . . . the working people follow the fate of the unfortunate community to which they belong; they become the last of the last."

The Francized Quebec State

The White Paper used 1961 income figures rather than the less favorable but available 1971 income figures. While the White Paper uses out-of-date facts to justify its case, a more important omission is the use of old social theories rather than modern theories about society. The paper does not explain how the two solitudes interact and conflict in Quebec. As stated, Anglophones dominate the means of production while Francophones monopolize the means of public administration — especially at Provincial levels. On April 28, 1976, Robert Bourassa revealed that 99% of the Civil Service were French speaking.

A central pivot in enforcing French and advancing French Quebec is the Quebec Civil Service or "State". The White Paper explains that: "the Province of Quebec first set an example of Francization". Critics of the White Paper have failed to see that the francization proposed by the White Paper may be seen in the Quebec Civil Service or "State" itself.

"Francization" means that individuals have to *be* French as well as speak French. Yet, there is an even deeper level of meaning to "francization". Quebec's Department of Education is intellectually out of touch, and as the language tests show, emotionally out of sympathy with English Quebec's children. As indicated, they enforce a higher

intellectual output with a lower economic input for the English school sector. Not only is the francized Provincial Government *by* French Quebecers only, in many ways it is *for* French Quebecers only. Deciding who *is* French in Quebec is no simple matter. Names are misleading — Claude Ryan and Robert Burns are prominent nationalists whose mother tongue is French. Nor is knowledge of the language a qualification — many Anglophones are bilingual. The criterion seems to be a combination of birth, mother tongue and attitude.

The social and economic consequences of French Quebecers monopolizing the means of provincial administration are ignored in the paper. In brief, Francophones have access to far more public money per head than Anglophones. Lest readers be deluded that public money is unimportant, it should be pointed out that 12% of French Quebecers can attend private secondary schools whereas only 6% of English Quebecers can. Private education in this instance is an indicator of wealth and power. Quebec's policy of subsidizing private schools aids French more than English Quebec. In other words, access to public money, especially in education, is *more* important than high incomes from the private sector.

Many Government services for the community are provided only in French. Yet, Swedish and Israeli studies of literary levels show that to fill in government forms, such as pension forms, a grade 11-12 level of literacy is required. The deliberate policy of systematically enforcing French through State documents obviously produces hardship amongst English-speaking people. This is ignored in the White Paper.

In a nutshell, the Francization of Big Provincial Government is systematically and universally discriminatory. The Quebec State emphasizes that it is imposing a unilingual Quebec while it is at the same time refusing to give equal

resources to the non-Francophone minority to live in this situation. Not surprisingly, many English-speaking people choose to emigrate in the face of such treatment. In order to preserve their liberty and dignity from the Quebec State, Quebec's Anglophones emigrate. Quebec's Francophones are becoming not so much "masters in our own house" (an election slogan) as they are echoing Louis XIV and saying "We are the State".

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 3

1. The British North America Act, 1867, Section 133.
2. Richard Joy, "Languages in Conflict," McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1972.
3. Jacques Henrypin, "Immigration And Language Imbalance," Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Manpower and Immigration, 1974, p. 23.
4. John Porter, "The Vertical Mosaic," University of Toronto Press, 1965.
5. Bernard Blishen, in "Social Stratification In Canada," edited by James Curtis and William Scott, Prentice-Hall, Toronto, 1973, pp. 164, 167-9.
6. Terry Copp, "Anatomy of Poverty," McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1974, pp. 43, 58.
7. Everett Hughes, "French Canada In Transition," Phoenix Books, Chicago, 1967.
8. Ibid., p. 51.
9. Bernard Blishen, in Social Class And Opportunity In Canada, p. 166.
10. Statistics Canada, "Survey of Education Finance," 1968.
11. Statistics Canada, "Education In Canada: A Statistical Review," 1974, pp. 280-281.
12. "Education In Quebec," 1971, Quebec Department of Education, p. 209.
13. Not only are there more requirements placed upon English as opposed to French children in Bills 22 and 101, Quebec's Green Paper on education also places a greater burden on English-speaking children. None of the previously mentioned documents proposes to give *equal* funding let alone more funding to English-speaking children.
14. Jacques Henrypin in "Quebec Society And Politics," edited by Dale Thompson, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1973, p. 162.

15. Jacques Henrypin, "Immigration And Language Imbalance," pp. 9, 25.
16. Meqnews, No. 10, October, 1976, (The Newspaper of Quebec's Department of Education), p. 6.
17. Richard Joy, op. cit.
18. Meqnews, No. 10, October, 1976, p. 6.
19. Annuaire du Quebec, 1975-76, p. 530.
20. Jacques Henrypin, "Immigration And Language Imbalance," p. 34.

4

Positive and Negative Tendencies

"There will no longer be any question of a bilingual Quebec."

QUEBEC'S POLICY ON THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, MARCH 1977.

French Quebec's magnificent parish churches have been called the greatest architectural-cultural achievement in Canada. The wealth, power and vitality of Quebec's French-Catholic nationalism is reflected in ornate churches.

In our era, Quebec's vitality is expressed in modern ways. Films such as "Mon Oncle Antoine" and songs such as "Mon Pays" are among the cultural achievements of modern Canada.

At the NDP Convention of 1976, Ed Broadbent, the Party Leader asserted that French Quebec's nationalism is positive. Perhaps he hoped to divert the cohesive Quebec vote to the NDP in the light of the Parti Québecois victory at the polls.

As shown, there *are* features to admire in French Quebec's nationalism. Nevertheless, every intellectual movement has negative as well as positive tendencies. Even Quebec's

present day ultranationalists have reservations about the extremes of French Catholic nationalism in Quebec's past. This chapter shows and explains some adverse leanings of French Canadian ultranationalism. We must qualify admiration of Quebec's nationalism — as we must do with any ideology.

First, we must realize that the social outlook of any society can be distorted by ultranationalism. For example, US Senator McCarthy destroyed many innocent people in his crusade against "un-American" activities.

French Canadian ultranationalists distort the truth, in the main, by failing to keep the past in its context. History is combed to reinforce prejudices and to justify discrimination against English Canadians. An unbalanced view of the past is used to justify an unfair present.

The Importance of the Conquest

Incredible as it may seem, the Conquest of 1760 is very much alive in the thought of French Canadian ultranationalists. For example, the Conquest is mentioned in Quebec's Language Policy. Whereas the Americans dwell on George Washington or the American Revolution, and the British on Churchill or the Battle of Britain, French Canadian ultranationalism dwells on a great defeat. Consequently, the perpetual emphasis on this defeat by French Canadian intellectuals contributes to the distortion of the French Canadian social outlook. In short, the emphasis on a great defeat partly explains their attempts to overcompensate for that defeat. In a sense, it is as though the *Catholics* of Northern Ireland were to emphasize William of Orange's victory at the Battle of the Boyne.

Some of the negative tendencies of French Canadian ultranationalism can be grouped around the ideas of authoritarianism, hypocrisy, arrogance and elitism. In order to

understand these leanings, possible historical explanations demonstrating how they have come about are given.

Authoritarianism

It can be argued that authority and social control have always been features of France, New France and Quebec. Authoritarianism is defined here in the sense of domineering, of telling rather than selling and of demanding rather than asking. France for instance forbids Bretons and Basques to put Gaelic or Basque names on birth certificates — only French ones are allowed. In New France, the habitants or farmers were dominated by the State and were prevented from owning the land that they farmed — it had to be rented via the seigneurs or lords. To modern Canadians, New France would be regarded as a closed, state-controlled society. The citizens existed to benefit the State of New France rather than the state to benefit the citizens. Non-Francophones, types of farming, industry, Protestants and alien influences were theoretically excluded by the State of New France. As late as 1661, a Daniel Vvil was actually shot for the sole crime of being a Huguenot (Protestant).[1] State bureaucrats built Montreal's city walls by conscription, enforced marriage at 15 and forbade habitants to leave the settlement. State authoritarianism was characteristic of New France. What we would consider basic human rights were privileges.

This is not to say that everyone in New France obeyed the State. Radisson and Groseilliers amongst others left and helped the British found Hudson's Bay Company. Yet modern laws creating unilingual Francophones have the effect of authoritarian attempts to stop modern Radissons and Groseilliers leaving French Canada.

Since the days of Cardinal Richelieu, France itself has had a strong state. A powerful state has been central to the

thinking of many French philosophers. Consequently, the Parti Québecois White Papers on Language and on Culture, giving great authority to the state, are continuing a trend instituted by France. Yet the Parti Québecois indicates that the entire authority of the modern state, including the "language police", is to be geared to "francization". In effect, the Parti Québecois seems to be returning to the spirit of Quebec's pre-Conquest past. Therefore, it can be argued that independence is not a prelude to a New Quebec, it is a resurrection of a Brave New France. For example Bill 101 (Chapter V, 137) reads: *"From 3 January 1979, any firm required to hold a francization certificate is guilty of an offence if it does not hold one."* And again (Chapter VII, 54): "*. . . it is forbidden to offer toys or games to the public which require the use of a non-French vocabulary for their operation. . .*"

Rousseau and Descartes

We can throw a great deal of light upon the authoritarianism of French Canada's ultranationalists by studying Rousseau. With the decline of the Church in Quebec, it can be argued that in a broad sense the intellectual vacuum has been filled by French philosophers. In the same way that British thinkers and institutions such as Parliament have influenced English Canada, philosophers such as Rousseau have influenced French Canada. Indeed, in the same way that English Canadians used to be more British than the British, Quebec's ultranationalists are often "more royalist than the king" as regards the French language, culture and philosophy. As a result, philosophers such as Rousseau and Descartes are perhaps absorbed with greater zest in Quebec than in France.

Bertrand Russell illustrates the authoritarianism of Rousseau's thought by pointing out that Rousseau was the in-

ventor of "pseudo-democratic dictatorships".[2] Russell continues by showing that: "Liberty is the nominal goal of Rousseau's thought, but in fact it is equality that he values, and that he seeks to secure at the price of liberty."[3]

Adherence to Rousseau's philosophy possibly explains the determination of the Parti Québecois to secure "equality" for French at the risk of liberty in Quebec.

Quebec's ultranationalists assert that the compulsory use of French in Quebec is the "will" of the majority. To quote Russell again: "The social contract involves that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be forced to do so. This means nothing less than he will be forced to be free."[4]

We can see Rousseau's influence in the authoritarian aspects of Bills 22 and 101 — the population is only being forced to be free to use French.

Authoritarianism manifests itself in other ways, as for example in the tendency of Quebec's politicians to resort to verbal outbursts or even extreme "verbal violence". Russell writes that: "People in eighteenth-century France greatly admired what they called la sensibilité, which meant a proneness to emotion. To be thoroughly satisfactory, the emotion must be direct and violent and quite uninformed by thought."[5] And again: "But by this time Rousseau . . . had come to suffer from the persecution mania which ultimately drove him insane . . . At moments he would realize the absurdity of such suspicions . . . but in the end his delusions won the day and when he died suicide was suspected."[6]

Quebec's ultranationalists, like Rousseau, believe that they are the victims of sinister forces in the most unlikely circumstances. Is it outrageous to suggest that Rousseau's persecution mania has been transmitted to Quebec too?

As regards the Parti Québecois' emphasis on the State and the attempts to curtail the English-speaking community, Russell has an apt section: "In Rousseau's opinion, what

interferes in practise with the expression of the general will is the existence of subordinate associations within the State. Each of these will have its own general will which may conflict with that of the community as a whole. . . . It is therefore essential, if the general will is to be able to express itself, that there should be no partial society within the State, and that each citizen should think only his own thoughts. . . . The result is obviously the Corporate or Totalitarian State in which the individual citizen is powerless."[7]

This helps explain the attempts to curtail English-speaking schools when the English schools are declining relative to the French-speaking schools. It is simply a desire to destroy an association of people perceived as conflicting with the general will of Quebec.

In a nutshell, the democratic ideal is menaced by a proneness to authoritarian measures that derive from social, political and intellectual factors in Quebec's past and present.

The social repercussions of authoritarianism upon the ultranationalists themselves are difficult to gauge. One possible consequence is a love of conformity and a love of bureaucratic jobs amongst Quebec's elite. Peter Newman in "The Canadian Establishment"[8] shows that Franco-Ontario produced French Canada's richest self-made man, not French Quebec itself. French Quebec's rich families tended to make their money through connections to the State rather than through individual enterprise.

Lastly, the domineering, inflexible attitudes of Quebec's authoritarian elite make it difficult for them to accept criticism.

Turning to the second adverse tendency of French Canada's ultranationalism, we look at hypocrisy. Hypocrisy is used here to mean pretense or having radically different standards in different situations. To understand the concern about French rights as opposed to English rights amongst

Quebec's ultranationalists, we look at a second great French philosophical influence, Descartes. Cartesians (followers of Descartes) start from a given fixed and assumed point which cannot be argued against, then build up their thinking from it.

Cartesian reasoning can be noted again and again in Canada. French ultranationalists demand that Canada be bilingual because there is a 26% French minority. Yet the ultranationalists assert that there will no longer be any question of a bilingual Quebec because Quebec's non-French minority is only 20% of the population.

French Canada's ultranationalists, as a majority, frequently do that which they object to as a minority. For instance, the Parti Québecois objected to Parliamentary closure in the Bill 22 language debate when in opposition, yet applied closure in the Bill 101 language debate when they became the government. Premier Lévesque deliberately broke Canada's Air Traffic Control laws by using French at Dorval Airport, yet objected when some parents disobeyed Bill 101 and sent their children to English schools.

Quebec's ultranationalists frequently assert that speaking English is a privilege in Quebec, not a right. Yet they assert that speaking French in Canada is their right. All these instances of hypocrisy may be traced to Cartesian influence.

Conservatism

Besides authoritarianism and hypocrisy, a major adverse social current amongst French Canada's ultranationalists is conservatism. The Abbé Groulx, a French Canadian thinker and ultranationalist historian emphasized French Canada's conservatism by speaking about "Our Master The Past". Groulx is respected by the Parti Québecois, and Premier Lévesque recently opened a museum to his memory. The province's conservative slogan "I remember" which was a

favourite of Groulx's, was taken by the Parti Québecois and put on the 1978 automobile license plates.

Clinging to a mythical past is probably the major social attitude of the ultranationalists in Quebec. To explain conservatism as an ingrained habit, we must remember that in the face of sudden descent upon them of the alien British language, religion, race and culture, the vanquished were determined to conserve their own.

In fact, conservatism in the face of modern "English" ideas is exaggerated to a socially harmful degree. Opposition to the "English" idea of vaccination meant that thousands of French Canadians died needlessly in the great smallpox epidemic of 1885.

Attitudes to Women

What has been called a Latin Catholic attitude to women may explain the resistance to divorce, birth control and abortion in Quebec. Papineau, the French Canadian hero of the 1837 Rebellion led the way in *abolishing* the franchise rights of those few women that the British had inadvertently allowed to vote in the 1830's. In the 1970's, Premier Lévesque crushed proposals for a liberal abortion law at the PQ convention. Women were not allowed to vote in Quebec till 1940 and the first woman elected to the National Assembly took her seat only in 1962. They were not allowed on juries until the late 1960's and, in Latin American fashion, women in the 1950's could be married at 14 years of age but were unable to attend a cinema until they were 16 years old. One would have to adapt a slogan of the Abbé Groulx's to describe the Quebec Civil Service's hiring policies — one language, one religion, one race and one sex.

In their book "Elites in Latin America,"[9] Lipset and Solari write that "Quebec is Catholic and Latin (if these

terms have any analytic or descriptive meaning) . . . spiritual authoritarianism seeps into other spheres."

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that, in its conservative attitude to women, which is directly in the Latin Catholic tradition, Quebec is more like South America than North America.

Chauvinism/Arrogance

A fourth negative social inclination of French Canada's ultranationalists revolves around the complex, related questions of imperialism, chauvinism, arrogance and ultranationalism. Besides an exaggerated pride in French Quebec, there seems to be an exaggerated contempt and hostility toward non-members of French Quebec. In turn, the tendency to exaggerate their own group's importance helps explain the authoritarian hypocrisy toward French as opposed to non-French rights.

Extreme chauvinism may be an inheritance from France itself or an attempt to over-compensate for the perpetual reminder of the Conquest. Yet taking over other people's social, economic and geographic territory rather than building their own appears characteristic of French Canada's nationalists. For example, New France began by taking over Indian sites such as Stadacona (Quebec City) and Hochelaga (Montreal). Indian culture and economic activity were expropriated rather than new ones invented. Snowshoeing, canoeing, fur-trading, trapping and maple sugar making were taken from the Indians, not created by French Canadians. From 1867 to the present, territory pioneered by English-speakers in rural Quebec has been taken over. Modern discriminatory measures such as Bills 1, 22, and 101 continue the expansionary process into urban industrialized English Quebec.

Linked to chauvinism is arrogance. Quebec's Bill I opens

with the mythical assertion that "The French language has always been the language of the Quebec people." On the American television program, Sixty Minutes, Premier Lévesque asserted that separatism is simply a case of the "natives" taking over.

Beliefs such as those cited are possibly linked to the arrogant, chauvinistic belief that French Canadians are somehow superior and have more rights in and to Quebec than the Inuit, Indians and Anglophones. On August 10, 1977, Mr. Morin, Quebec's Education Minister, arrogantly declared that some English-speaking children were "non-persons". However, perhaps the best indicator of arrogance was the placing of Quebec's language laws ahead of Quebec's Declaration of Human Rights in the event of conflict between the two. Superior persons have more rights than mere humans. In turn, this is only one indicator that Quebec separatism is not so much a human rights movement as it is a French-power movement.

Role of the Church

This is not to say that the chauvinistic expansionary process has been carried out in the same ways by the same institutions. The Catholic Church carried out the expansionary process from the 1760's to the 1960's when the Quebec and Canadian States took over.

After the Conquest, the Catholic Church was immune to British influence since the British were Protestants. So, the nationalists delivered their hearts, their economic, social, linguistic and cultural hopes into the hands of the Church. The Church operated schools, hospitals, universities, farms, orphanages, old people's homes and the parishes. Even today, a Montreal Gazette series on real estate estimates that 25% of the province by value is still owned by agencies of the Church. The nationalists had demanded that the

Church conserve and expand French influence, and it did. Fantastic as it may sound today, the nationalistic church achieved this by urging French Canadians to deliberately breed for their nation. The special phrase for it all, the "revenge of the cradle" ensured that French Canada expanded from its seigneurial lands. From 1760-1960 the world's population multiplied by four, whereas French Canada's multiplied by *eighty*. As a result of buying up farms, replacing the township by the Parish system and refusing to join English schools, the church aided the destruction of rural English Quebec in the Eastern Townships, the Ottawa Valley and the Gaspé. Contrary to the conventional wisdom which asserts that Francophones are being assimilated, we can see that Francophones have been the assimilators in Quebec.

Role of the State

Today, the main force of French Quebec's ultra-nationalism is exercised by bureaus of the Quebec Government. Prior to 1910, the Quebec Civil Service operated in English. However, it was made "bilingual" by the Quebec Legislature and, today, a flagrantly unrepresentative 99% is French-speaking.

Bill 22 made French the official language of the Quebec Government and Bill 101 made French the only official language. There were no protests by English-speaking civil servants for the simple reason that there were no English-speaking civil servants to protest. In addition, French *had* to be made the only language of the Quebec Government because, with an overwhelmingly French-speaking personnel, the Government was unable to offer English-speaking services. It is doubtful if Quebec's bureaus *could* offer adequate services to the one million Anglophones and still maintain their existing discriminatory hiring practises.

According to the Toronto Globe and Mail, despite massive mistakes in transcripts, the remaining four (out of 120) Montreal legal stenographers who are English-speaking are being fired by Quebec's Justice Department. In turn, it can be argued that trials *have* to become more French because the Court personnel who are increasingly unilingual-French simply cannot cope with English. Quebec's bureaucrats operate in a chauvinistic fashion toward the English-speaking population partly because the bureaucrats are unable to speak English.

In addition, English is frequently avoided in order to assert the pre-eminence of French. The use of English is reduced to the level of a favor by the bureaucrat rather than something to which the citizen is entitled. For example:

"The Government, the government departments and the other agencies of the civil administration shall use only the official language in their written communications with each other.
"French is the language of written internal communications in the Government, the government departments, and the other agencies of the civil administration.
"The notices of meeting, agendas and minutes of all deliberative assemblies in the civil administration shall be drawn up in the official language.
"The health services and the social services must ensure that their services are available in the official language.
"They must draw up their notices, communications and printed matter intended for the public in the official language." Bill 101, Chapter IV, Sections 17-19 and 23. See also Appendix I.

In two cases known to the author parents adopting non-French children actually had to conduct the process in French because the Quebec Government officials involved

were unable or unwilling to speak to the children or their parents in English. The Toronto Globe and Mail of September 3, 1977 showed that in the St. Eustache hospital, although 25% of the patients spoke English, the receptionist on the emergency ward was unilingual-French and, although harassing and insulting English-speakers, could not be fired because of Bill 101 (*"An employer is prohibited from dismissing, laying off, demoting or transferring a member of his staff for the sole reason that he is exclusively French-speaking or that he has insufficient knowledge of a particular language other than French."* Bill 101, VI, 45).

The French Canadian monopoly over public administration in Quebec means that Government agencies in English-speaking or native people's areas stand out as chauvinistic centres. Bills 22 and 101 make it the law to award contracts to French-speaking enterprises. In turn, excluding Anglophones from contracts or jobs in bureaus such as the Liquor Commission or Quebec Hydro contributes to high English-speaking emigration from the province.

A curious example of French Canadian bureaucratic chauvinism is the systematic changing of names to French ones. In addition, historical buildings such as the Van Horne mansion on Sherbrooke Street in Montreal have been refused protection orders on chauvinistic grounds. As a reply to those attempting to save the Van Horne mansion, the Quebec Government pointed out that the building had nothing to do with Québecois culture and would not be protected. In short, the non-French past must not intrude upon the chauvinistic French Canadian present.

Elitism

The last major inclination in the social outlook of French Quebec's ultranationalism is the gearing of society to the benefit of the few — elitism. In many ways, social changes in Quebec are to benefit the elite not the masses. Jobs for the

boys is a feature of many nationalist movements. Quebec's Policy on the French Language, with its emphasis on "top jobs" rather than on everyday living standards for the masses, reflects the elitist tradition of French Canada's ultra-nationalism.

The authoritarian tradition amongst Quebec's elite is perhaps not so surprising when one realizes that its members attend a unique type of private school, the classical college. Quebec's classical colleges are modelled on Jesuitical seminaries and, in the late 1970s, are educating some 12% of French Quebec's children.

Consequently, the authoritarian nature of Quebec's Cabinet Ministers and top bureaucrats is traceable to the authoritarian nature of their educational experience. The cloistered few are educated in responsibility *for* French Canadian culture not in democratic responsibility *to* French Canadian society. Social circumstances placed power in elite hands — bishops, seigneurs, politicians and bureaucrats. The irritating air of certainty, of being completely correct, so often displayed by Quebec politicians is an inevitable consequence of their education.

As an aside, the entire Parti Québecois Cabinet, (whose members claim that they are from the real "people" of Quebec) were educated in private not public schools. Not since the late 1920s has the entire British Cabinet been drawn from private schools. Quebec is more elitist than Britain as regards the socio-educational origins of its politicians.

Be that as it may, the emphasis on "classical" colleges is another indicator of the conservatism of the French Canadian elite. For the past 100 years, Quebec educators have lamented classical studies while showing indifference to the technical present. High ability in Latin, English, French and Ancient Greek is hardly sufficient to equip the elite for the modern world. If a group of English-speaking people were educated in Latin, Greek and French, it is obvious that

their ability to cope with modern times would be lower than if they had been educated in modern subjects. Dr. Pierre Laurin, director of the University of Montreal's business school, pointed out that in 1978 out of 28,000 secondary teachers in French Quebec, only *fifty* taught economics. Quebec's Green Paper on education in 1977-78 proposes to meet the challenge of low literacy levels in schools by bringing back Latin. Quebec's elite transmits its lack of modernity to the wider society.

One last point. Henri Bourassa, Quebec's nationalist leader of the early 1900's was quite open in advocating an aristocratic state. Bourassa believed that the role of the elite was to be an intermediary between French Canada and the rest of North America. In fact, the children of the present day elite attend private schools where English is taught well. The children of the masses attend unilingual-French schools. The elite wants a large unilingual Francophone society. As a result, Francophones, immigrant children and even English-speaking Canadians are coerced into a unilingual French school system from which the elite was not drawn and to which the elite would not send its own children. Like any authoritarian elite, Quebec's elite tells the citizens to "do as I say" not to "do as I do".

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 4

1. Robert Sellars, "The Tragedy of Quebec," Ontario Press Ltd., Toronto, 1916, pp. 43-45.
2. Bertrand Russell, "A History of Western Philosophy," George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1962, p. 660.
3. Ibid., p. 669.
4. Ibid., p. 671.
5. Ibid., p. 651.
6. Ibid., p. 665.
7. Ibid., p. 673.
8. Peter Newman, "The Canadian Establishment," McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1975.
9. S. M. Lipset and A. Solari, "Elites in Latin America," Oxford University Press, New York, 1967, pp. 11-12.

5

Social Repercussions of Ultranationalism

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."
SAMUEL JOHNSON

As emphasized, there is a chronic need to demolish the mythology surrounding Canadian history and society. In this chapter, it is suggested that many of Canada's social problems are a consequence of ultranationalistic policies from the past as well as the present.

Blaming English Canada

French Canada is probably uncritical and unconscious of the destructive consequences of its own ultranationalism. The French sociologist Durkheim helps explain this by showing that Protestantism tends to emphasize the individual whereas Catholicism tends to emphasize the group. Protestants tend to take out frustrations upon themselves whereas Catholics tend to blame the wider society. French Canada until recently prided itself on being "more Catholic than the Pope". This may explain why French Canada's Nationalists blame the wider Canadian society for their own shortcomings. In brief, French Canada tends not to blame

itself. As indicated, it was French Canadian ultranationalism that gave power to the Church. In turn, it was ultranationalism operating through the Church, rather than Catholicism in itself, that held French Canada back. In fact, other Catholics objected to French ultranationalism distorting the Church. For example, Bishop Fallon wrote in 1910: "We are alarmed for the future of our Catholic educational system in Ontario because of the agitation that culminated in the French Canadian Congress in Ottawa in 1910."[1]

At the Twentieth Eucharist Congress, the first ever held in North America, Archbishop Bourne said in Montreal's Notre Dame Church that the Roman Catholic Church in Canada should identify itself with the English language if it wished to advance.[2]

The end result of French Canadian ultranationalism is that French Canada perpetually shifts blame upon English Canada. The ultranationalists invent myths that exaggerate the degree of English Canadian discrimination. This is not to say that English Canadian discrimination is non-existent. It is simply to explain the social reasons for French Canadian ultranationalists perpetually claiming to be victimized by English Canada. For example Canadian soldiers were sent into Montreal under the War Measures Act because the extremist FLQ abducted a Cabinet Minister and kidnapped a British diplomat. Yet, it was Mayor Drapeau of Montreal in conjunction with Quebec's Premier Bourassa who persuaded Prime Minister Trudeau and his French Canadian dominated Cabinet to send in the troops. T. C. Douglas of the NDP rather than the many French Canadians in Parliament and Quebec's National Assembly was the most vociferous opponent of the War Measures Act. However, French Canadian ultranationalists blame English Canada for the whole affair, and, there are even books claiming that English Canada engineered the FLQ kidnappings so as to impose the War Measures Act.

It is no accident that the University of Montreal pioneered the study of victimology. In a sense, the entire French Canadian ultranationalist movement specializes in victimology.

However, perpetually blaming English Canada so as to justify discrimination against English-speaking people is undoubtedly effective. French ultranationalism is a tool of quiet but efficient economic discrimination on behalf of French Canadians. English-speaking people are being edged out of Quebec. Professionals especially, because of a discriminatory educational system, are replaced by French Canadians. (*"The professional corporations shall not issue permits in Québec except to persons whose knowledge of the official language is appropriate to the practice of their profession. Proof of that knowledge must be given in accordance with the regulations of the Office de la langue française, which may provide for the holding of examinations and the issuance of certificates."* Bill 101, Chapter V, 35.)

As stated, Quebec's Civil Service and public servants such as police and firemen used to be representative of Quebec's population mix, now they are not. Bills 22 and 101 expand French Quebecers into newer work areas such as English-speaking hospitals, schools, offices and so on. Quebec's language laws "protecting" French have a quiet, expansionary and discriminatory economic basis. Coercing immigrants into unilingual French schools who would otherwise become bilingual in English schools is partly a desire to give jobs to French as opposed to English teachers.

Some Costs of Ultranationalism

The socio-economic effects of a powerful ultranationalism are at the root of modern Quebec's inadequacies. For example, at the turn of the century, the Carnegie Founda-

tion was prevented from opening a bilingual library system in Montreal by Quebec's nationalistic bishops who wanted to censor the books. Toronto did accept the money and Metropolitan Toronto with two million people has a chain of over 80 libraries whereas Montreal with the same number of people has far fewer. The difference between Quebec and Ontario as regards public libraries is enormous.

TABLE 16

Library Statistics for Quebec and Ontario 1971[3]

	Population	Libraries	Books	Circulation	$ Million	Full Time Staff
Quebec	6,000,000	112	4,185,000	10,500,000	7	516
Ontario	7,750,000	341	13,446,000	49,250,000	41	2,958

Curiously, the cost of the massive new Toronto Central Library built in 1977 was almost exactly equal to the cost of the waterfalls built for the Montreal Olympics in 1976. In his book "The Billion Dollar Games," Nick Auf der Maur claims that the extravagances of the 1976 Olympics were a consequence of French Canadian nationalism asserting its presence in the world. We can see that ultra-nationalism over the years has important socio-economic repercussions in Quebec's everyday life.

TABLE 17

Number of Museums, Art Galleries and Related Institutions, 1970[4]

Quebec	British Columbia	Ontario	Canada
87	98	257	708

The absence of museums and libraries in Quebec is linked to its politique de grandeur and is brought about by ultra-

nationalism advocating high visibility projects such as the Olympics. Chauvinism favors prestige projects.

Ultranationalism Distorts Catholicism

As stated, about 25% of Quebec Province by value is held by agencies of the Church — including Montreal's Stock Exchange Building. As a result, Montreal in particular has a tax problem because much of the Church land is tax-free. In turn, the selling of this land for tax-free capital gains is an important economic transfer to French Quebec, even though the land acquired its high value from the efforts of the entire community. The huge Church wealth explains partly why French Quebecers much more than English Quebecers can take advantage of private Catholic schools, nursing homes and hospitals rather than using public ones.

An unpleasant social distortion resulting from excessive nationalism operating through the Church was religious intolerence toward non-Catholics in Quebec. In "French Canada In Transition," Hughes records the public sympathy for a strike by medical students following the appointment of a Jewish student to an internship in an important French Canadian hospital.

The Quebec State advanced the Church. Penton's "Jehovah's Witnesses In Canada"[5] claims that there was organized religious persecution in Quebec. In 1946 alone, over 400 Jehovah's Witnesses were taken to court. The Roncarelli case, where Premier Duplessis withdrew the liquor license from a restaurant owner who put up bail money for the Witnesses is a celebrated Canadian legal case. In 1954, Mr. Justice Eugene Marquis even ruled that Jehovah's Witnesses did not constitute a religion in Quebec. The civil authorities of Quebec felt obliged to support the Catholic Church and it was the Canadian Supreme Court that ended the persecution. The real crime of the Jehovah's

Witnesses was of course to persuade French Canadians to abandon the faith of their forefathers. In 1977 Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Lévesque loudly asserted that Quebec has always tolerated minorities. Yet, Penton cites the case of the Chabot children in the 1950's who were expelled from publicly funded French Catholic schools for refusing to make the Sign of the Cross.[6] There were no Protestant schools in the area and the children had the option of giving up school or their religion. In the 1970's, children, including English Catholic children, have the option of giving up school or the English language. We can see that despite the myths propagated by Trudeau and Lévesque, Quebec's ultranationalists have never been tolerant of minorities. The modern harassment of minorities is only continuing an ultranationalist tradition. The Quiet Revolution was only a quiet interlude between the nationalism of Duplessis and the nationalism of Bourassa, Trudeau and Lévesque.

The distorted values of an ultranationalistic Latin Catholicism may well cause social problems. Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted by two juries only to be charged again by Quebec's Justice Department for exactly the same crime — abortion. No doubt Dr. Morgentaler offended nationalistic and Catholic sensitivities. Here again, Quebec's emphasis on cultural and spiritual matters to the neglect of physical matters is perhaps traceable to Latin Catholicism. For example, it was revealed that Quebec health officials were bribed into allowing the sale of hundreds of tons of offal and bad meat to the public. Yet the Quebec Government made strenuous efforts to ensure that the food had French labels. The Quebec State protects French Quebec from English labels, but protects neither of the language groups from bad food. The Quebec Government spends literally millions of dollars flying children to France for spiritual sustenance, yet ignores the physical sustenance of those very children.

Revenge Upon the Child *in* the Cradle

However, the most important socio-economic consequence of an ultranationalist French Catholic Church revolves around the "revenge of the cradle". The revenge of the cradle was something that afflicted the child *in* the cradle rather than the wider English-speaking community that it was directed against. The French-speaking community suffered accordingly, and small, unhealthy, uneducated people became the norm in French Canada. Although ultranationalists blame the English for Quebec's bad health and education, it requires no great insight to realize that when unhealthy, uneducated people bear too many children, social problems will follow.

In the early 1900's an incredible 200 out of every 1,000 babies died in Quebec before they were one year old. Quebec had poorer health rates than the rest of Canada until the late 1960's when the rate rose to Canadian levels. In the 1950's we see the following:

TABLE 18

Health Rate Indicators, 1951[7]

	Quebec	Ontario	Canada
Stillbirths			
Absolute numbers	2,705	2,017	7,088
Rate per 1,000 live births	21.0	15.6	17.0
Infant deaths			
Absolute numbers	5,821	3,545	14,673
Rate per 1,000	48.1	30.9	38.5

The table shows that Canada had poor health rates while Quebec had atrocious health rates.

Much of Quebec's problem was a result of an inadequate hospital system compared to other provinces.

TABLE 19

% of Births in Hospitals: Quebec, Ontario and Canada[8]

	Quebec	Ontario	Canada
1931	7.3	38.2	26.8
1941	17.6	67.5	48.9
1951	53.0	93.1	79.1
1961	92.3	99.3	96.9
1971	99.6	99.8	99.6

An important consequence of the "revenge of the cradle" was that many people in Quebec's French-speaking community were unable to work. Jacques Henrypin, the French Canadian demographer, shows that the high fertility rate reduced the proportion of Quebec's population in the labor force.

TABLE 20

Numbers in the Labor Force per 1,000 People[9]

	Quebec	Ontario
1911	331	394
1961	336	384

Not only was there a lower proportion of the labor force able to work, the poor levels of education meant that the province became a giant pool of cheap labor. In turn, cheap labor did little to improve health rates. A subtle yet sad revenge of the cradle was taken upon French Quebec itself.

Lord Acton's dictum sums up what happened to the Church in French Canada: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." As a result of ultra-nationalist powers given to the Church, the tyrannical Church became typical of Quebec. French Canadian churchmen are no more naturally authoritarian than other churchmen, the Church became corrupt because of its absolute power to further the "nation".

The Quebec State "Disease" — Three Types of Bureaucracy

As indicated, the Quebec Government's Civil Service or "State" is now the main arm of French Canadian ultra-nationalism in Quebec. Lord Acton's dictum applies to the Quebec State too — power corrupts. The nationalists now view the Quebec State as the spearhead of the Quebec nation. The "State" is of course a major feature of France itself which has probably the largest bureaucracy in Europe. French scholars, notably Mr. Peyrifitte, have labelled the socio-economic consequences of a rigid, centralized state as "the French disease". Quebec suffers from it also. The symptoms of Quebec's bureaucratic "disease" can be diagnosed as biased bureaucracy, buccaneering bureaucracy and bloated bureaucracy.

Quebec's government bureaus perform the social role of "francization" — to make Quebec into a French nation-state. The French-speaking State is being created *before* a French-speaking nation, so the State is trying to ensure the nation becomes French-speaking. This explains why the bureaus actively harass non-French people into using French or into leaving Quebec. In short, discrimination against English-speaking people in Quebec is not haphazard or disorganized, it is *institutionalized*. ("*In order to be appointed, transferred or promoted to an office in the civil administration, a knowledge of the official language appropriate to the office applied for is required.*" Bill 101, Chapter IV, 20.) Hence the firing of English-speaking road-workers after 20 years on the roads. In addition, Government forms and certificates are often printed only in French so that English-speaking people are effectively handicapped in their dealings with the State. As indicated, it requires a Grade 11 or 12 literacy level in French to read the forms. There have been many instances of mothers telephoning

schools because they are unable to understand the computerized format-French used for high school examinations, or are unable to read the graduation diplomas.

Quebec's ultranationalists place great power into the hands of the State because of its racial-linguistic composition — it can be trusted not to err in favor of Anglophones. For instance, a highly discriminatory aspect of Bill 22 which forbade individuals to wear or carry any signs, buttons or "T" shirts in English originated from bureaucrats working for the State, not the National Assembly.

The discriminatory economic consequences of a biased bureaucracy are many. As we have said, Anglophones are excluded from public jobs or public contracts, and public funds are distributed on a linguistic basis. Films in English are actually to be banned unless they have been translated and shown in French first. Advertisements for certain jobs in English-speaking newspapers must appear in French newspapers also, but the reverse does not apply. One could continue, but the point is that biased bureaucrats control much of Quebec's life.

A second symptom of the state "disease" in Quebec is the buccaneering bureaucracy. Power corrupts and great power is given to Quebec State officials. The buccaneering bureaucracy of Quebec is legendary. Premier Taschereau was replaced by Duplessis to end state corruption and Lesage won in 1960 by promising to end the corruption of the Duplessis regime. Bourassa, the Liberal, won on a promise to end the Union Nationale's corruption in the 1960's, and Lévesque's PQ won partly on a promise of good, clean government.

We must realize that French Canadian civil servants are no more naturally corrupt than any other civil servants. All that is happening is that French Quebec gives great power to state bureaucracy. For example:

"The Office de la langue française is established to . . .

see that the French language becomes, as soon as possible, the language of communication, work, commerce and business in the civil administration and business firms." "The members and staff of the Office cannot be prosecuted by reason of official acts done in good faith by them in the performance of their duties." Bill 101, Chapter II, Sections 100 and 112.

Johnson's remark about patriotism being the last refuge of a scoundrel has of course been applied to Quebec bureaucrats since the days of Duplessis. Duplessis hypocritically declared his French Canadian ultranationalism while promoting corruption on a grand scale. The Duplessis tradition continues, and recent years have seen scandals in almost every bureau of Government — Liquor Commission kickbacks, toll bridge rakeoffs, the selling of illicit driving licenses, bad meat, and innumerable building contract bribes. Even bureaucrats in the Education Ministry used their power for personal gain — they sold private school permits.

The great power held by bureaucrats is unique to Quebec because of ultranationalism. For example, francization certificates must be held if companies are to obtain government contracts or even, under Bill 101, to stay in existence. Perhaps francization certificates will be awarded or withheld for hard cash by owners anxious to stay in business or even by business rivals wanting to ensure the opposite. The first appointed head of this bureau during the Liberal regime had to resign — for being convicted of income tax evasion. Consequently, we can see that the bureaucratic buccaneer flourishes, as Johnson said, in a climate of ultranationalism.

Yet, although the biased and buccaneering characteristics of the Quebec State are well known to the public, the bloated bureaucracy is perhaps the most dangerous symp-

tom of the disease. To a lesser degree, the bloated bureaucracy phenomenon applies to the Canadian Federal Government for exactly the same reasons.

The Quebec State has become a linguistic shelter for French-speakers. The massive bureaucracy that has grown up within the Quebec and Canadian States is partly explained by a political desire to employ French-speakers.[10]

In other words, Quebec is the highest taxed province in Canada partly because the Quebec bureaucracy is a French-speaking welfare agency. Government bureaucracy is characteristic of France itself, so Quebec is perhaps copying the mother country. Quebec insists upon collecting its own income tax and operating its own family allowance scheme in addition to the Federal systems. Ultranationalism results in Quebec sending endless delegations to Paris and promoting equally endless French language conferences. As a result, the bureaucrats operating these schemes have become a major economic burden upon the taxpayers. For example, during the Quebec teachers' strikes of 1975-76, the teachers used Statistics Canada figures to show that less than half (45%) of Quebec's school spending went to classroom teachers whereas around 40% went to the bureaucracy (the rest went to buildings). In short, Quebec spends almost as much on administrating the students as it does on teaching them. This is not to suggest that the rest of Canada has low levels of bureaucracy. Canada has high levels of bureaucracy whereas Quebec has ridiculously high levels of bureaucracy.

The teachers showed that Quebec spent more money on education than any other province in Canada, but that Quebec's teachers were the lowest paid in Canada as a result of the bloated bureaucracy of Quebec's Department of Education. Bigotry gives birth to Quebec's bureaucracy and the bureaucrats give birth to bigotry against English-speakers. The 100 bureaucrats operating Bill 22 Language

Tests were not fired when the Parti Québecois came to power and abolished the tests. The PQ Government simply switched them over to operating Bill 101's entrance requirements for the English school sector. Bigotry took a different shape in the PQ bureaucracy, but it is still expensive.

Quebec's industry emphasizes constantly that it needs bilingual people. However, ultranationalism ensures that the educational system produces unilingual Francophones. Consequently, in order to absorb unilingual Francophones, the Quebec State has created a burdensome bureaucracy. To some degree, the Canadian Government has responded to the problem of unilingual Francophones in the same way.

Much of the conflict between the Quebec Government and the Inuit of the North is due to the recent influx of unilingual Francophones to francize the North — at great expense to the Quebec taxpayer. Rather than employing native people, the Quebec State employs unilingual Francophones. Consequently, we can see that it is not that Anglophones or Inuit will not work for the Quebec State as the ultranationalists claim. As shown earlier (p. 77) the social purpose of the Quebec State is to exclude non-Francophones.

However, *it must be emphasized that not all* Quebec Government officials are corrupt or biased. We are offering a social explanation for the actions of the Quebec State, not a condemnation of everyone who works for it. Nevertheless, the biased, buccaneering and bloated bureaucracy has become a major social problem in Quebec Province.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 5

1. "Minorities, Schools and Politics," edited by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger, University of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 81.
2. Ibid., p. 81.

3. Canada Year Book, 1973, p. 334.
4. Ibid., p. 334.
5. Penton, "Jehovah's Witnesses In Canada," Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1976.
6. Ibid., p. 218.
7. "Canada Year Book," 1973, pp. 223-226.
8. Ibid., p. 221.
9. Jacques Henrypin in "Quebec Society and Politics," edited by Dale Thompson, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1973, p. 165.
10. For example, Quebec Government House in New York employs 33 people. Ontario with a greater population than Quebec employs 6 people in New York. Montreal Gazette, February 6, 1978.

6

The Hothouse Society

". . . a nationality strengthened and embittered by continuance."

LORD DURHAM

We have analyzed French Canadian ultranationalism to emphasize that there are *two* linguistic majorities interacting and conflicting with *two* besieged minorities upon the Canadian linguistic scene. The best way to appreciate the Canadian linguistic situation is to understand that there is a tyranny of two linguistic majorities within the confines of one country. *Both* linguistic majorities have been the source of injustices against their respective minorities. However, in the 1970's Quebec's English-speaking minority has probably more justifiable grievances than has Canada's French-speaking minority. French Quebec has embarked upon a policy of systematic, institutionalized and organized discrimination against its linguistic minority. For these and for many other reasons, we must spotlight the socio-linguistic problems of Canada's "forgotten" linguistic minority, the English-speaking people of Quebec.

Significantly, no Royal Commission has investigated the plight of English Quebecers, the social consequences of repressive French language laws or the disappearance of

the English language and people from Quebec Province.

As stated, there is now a need to catalogue the socio-economic consequences of the French-speaking domination of Big Government.

From the time of the Canadian National Railway to the setting up of Trans Canada Airlines and the James Bay Project, governments have played a major economic role in Canada. Private economic power tends to be held by English Canadians, but, *public* economic power is controlled by French Canadians. In Quebec, public economic power is monopolized by and used largely for French-speakers.

As has also been said, the rise of French power in Canada and Quebec since the 1960's can be traced to the massive growth of Big Government since the 1960's. In turn, Big Government, especially in Quebec, has become dangerously unrepresentative government. In fact, Big Quebec Government has become a major enemy of ordinary people. What the "francized" state does *to* citizens has become dangerous and perverts what the state ought to do *for* citizens.

Human Rights

The Quebec Government's cultural kidnapping of children contravenes the UN Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26.3 which gives the parents not the State prior rights in deciding a child's educational pattern. In the case of the Inuit, Bill 101 contravenes the 1948 UN Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Section (E) which forbids the forcible transfer of children from their native group.

Putting it mildly, Quebec's Francized State violates human rights in a unique way. For instance, Eastern Europe is communist, authoritarian and has a language problem.

Yet, according to Dr. Nigel Grant, of Glasgow University,[1] an authority on the Balkans, no Eastern European country forces children into schools using a language foreign to the child. Yet, the Quebec-dominated Canadian Government has made no attempt to disallow Quebec's actions — as could be done under the terms of the British North America Act. In fact, human rights are becoming privileges in Quebec. Quite simply, it is now difficult to live, work, be educated, be governed or to bring up children in English within Quebec. The failure of Canada to maintain basic rights for the one million Anglophones in Quebec is in fact a much bigger blot on the history of the country than the failure to provide services in French for isolated pockets of French Canadians in other provinces. (See also Appendix 1.)

World Decline of French Stimulates Ultranationalism

The rise of French Canadian ultranationalism to a position of menace is partly explained by the fading of the French language itself. The condition of the French language and resulting unease of French-speakers is explained not by Canadian Federalism suppressing French-speakers, but by the fact that the French language is less and less able to cope with the modern world.

Having exposed many myths, we must analyze one of the most potent in Canada — the state of the French language. The newly appointed Federal Commissioner of Official Languages asserted in 1977 that French was the second most important language in the world. In addition, Quebec's White Paper on Language claims that French is "perfectly adapted to the work of a modern city and communications between dynamic industrialized states".

In fact, French is less and less learned as a second language, is not second to English numerically, has been overtaken by the knowledge explosion, and is itself in difficulty.

TABLE 21

World Statistics on French and English

	Native speakers (millions)	Numbers knowing the language (millions)	World position
English	305-330	400-1000	2nd
French	70-85	90- 200	12th

Estimates on language vary greatly according to definitions used. The French Canadian domination over the means of Canadian administration distorts the world importance of French to the Canadian people. In reality, French, by all definitions, is not in the same international league as English.

In European schools, French has long been replaced by English as the major second language. In fact, over 90% of European children learn English when they learn a second language. In Britain, rather than continuing French as the major second language, the schools are switching to German. From 1960-72 in Italy, French declined from 59% to 36% whereas English increased from 36% to 56% of the total students learning a second language.[2]

French is no longer pre-eminent in Europe. In the Eighteenth Century, the elite spoke French. Frederick William of Prussia spoke in French as did the Czars of Russia. Today English is the elite language. In the modern world, there are no major French-speaking countries outside of France. In contrast, outside of Britain there are several major English-speaking countries, notably the United States. The decline of French on the world scene since the Eighteenth Century is in contrast to the spread of French throughout Canada. French has fared much better in Canada than in the wider world.

Rise of English

English was the language of the British Empire, the In-

dustrial Revolution and the Agricultural Revolution. British trade, banking, insurance, industry and colonization made English a great international language in a way that surpassed any other language, including French.

The rise of the USA to world leadership only reinforces the world position of the English language. For over one and a half centuries English has led the world technically, economically, politically and culturally.

TABLE 22

% Share of World Population, Gross National Product and Scientific Publishing Manpower, 1967[3]

Country	Population	GNP	Share of World's Publishing Scientists
USA	5.9%	32.8%	41.5%
UK	1.6%	4.8%	8.1%
France	1.4%	4.5%	5.4%

As can be seen in the above table around 50% of the world's publishing scientists use English whereas only 5% use French. In addition countries such as Germany and Russia translate much of their material into English.

A similar picture emerges when we look at the number of scientists and engineers engaged in research and development.

TABLE 23

Scientists Engaged in Research and Development, 1962[3]

USA	435,000
UK	58,700
Germany	40,000
France	28,000

The preponderant language of science, and hence of the

knowledge explosion is English, not French. The French language is less and less viable not because of Canadian federalism but because of the knowledge explosion.

An American Medical Association survey showed that 70% of the world's medical research is conducted in English. French was in seventh place. Over 50% of the world's newspapers, television and radio stations use English as do 75% of the world's technical publications. A UNESCO survey reveals that 22% of all the world's books *ever* printed were in English. The indicators are endless, but the point is, French is emphatically nowhere near equal to English, and is far behind Russian, German, Spanish and several other languages. Only Quebec's ultranationalists could claim that "French has equal prestige in the world" relative to English.

French Endangered in France

The French language has problems in France itself. Both France and Belgium have passed laws similar to Bills 22 and 101 to protect the French language because French is becoming "le franglais". In Paris over 20% of the jobs advertised in "Le Monde" demand a knowledge of English.[4] In fact, as will be explained in the following paragraphs, not only is French fading as an international language, its well-being as a national language in France appears to be threatened.

When deBroglie won the Nobel prize for his theory of electrons, he had to discuss his work in *English* not his native French — and this was an area that he pioneered.[5]

Some writers (such as Gramont in "The French"[5]) believe that the French language may well be like Latin, destined for the linguistic cemetery. Gramont points out that French does not even have words for "Management" or "Marketing". Gramont explains that the French State

controls the French language so as to exclude foreign words. The body entrusted with the language, the French Academy, has only reached the letter "D" after 40 years on the official dictionary. As a result, the French vocabulary is less than a third of the size of English, and one word has many meanings. This causes great confusion. For example, Quebec's National Assembly had a debate over the police buying 150,000 "chemises". The Opposition thought it referred to shirts when it referred to "folders" — the word had both meanings. Serious novels written in English use a vocabulary of around 40,000 different words whereas a French novel of the same length uses only 10,000 different words. As is often noticed in Canada, French has to resort to compound words since it has such a small vocabulary. This creates difficulties in a modern technological society — an automated milling machine becomes: "une machine à vaser commande par une bonde perforce".

An interesting comment upon French by the "Economist" magazine of London made the point that French used to be popular with diplomats because treaties could be given different meanings by each side if written in French. The lack of precision may be excellent for diplomacy, but it also partly explains the scientific and technical inadequacies of all unilingual French-speakers. As indicated, imposing a *technical* knowledge of French on Quebec's professionals is merely adding a burden not a contribution to their professional development.

Consequences of a Receding Language in Quebec

To compensate for French difficulties with the knowledge explosion, Quebec Government committees churn out lists of francized words. France has a similar procedure. The disadvantage of this is that the language becomes somewhat artificial and people cannot remember the created words.

In fact, some incidents seem straight out of a comic opera by Gilbert and Sullivan. For example, the word "nursing" is subject to minor feud amongst Quebec's French-speakers who cannot decide whether to francize it or not. The word for "bay-window" was apparently changed by a committee in France who circulated the new word on a list — until somebody pointed out that the new word was also of English origin. The world's English-speakers would ignore similar attempts to regulate their language. The English language absorbs many words from many languages. In addition, English attracts learners. The language of the Beatles, of science, the BBC and the United States has little trouble finding students. As Gramont suggests, French has Latin-like qualities for non-French-speakers.

The differing natures of the French and English languages explain many of the complaints expressed by French Canadian ultranationalists. For example, the ultranationalists complain that only 30% of Quebec's immigrants are French-speaking and that Canada draws too much from the English-speaking world. In fact, the largest single nationality immigrating to Quebec is often from France or Haiti. However, the English-speaking world is so much larger than the French-speaking world that more immigrants in total speak English. In addition, the ultranationalists complain that non-English-speaking immigrants join Quebec's English community. Part of the reason for this is that if immigrants have a second language, it will usually be English not French — because English is so much more widely taught in the world's schools. Industry, to the complaint of ultranationalists, often uses English in Quebec. However, this is a reflection not so much of the economic power of Quebec's Anglophones as of the dynamism of the wider English-speaking world. The British and then the Americans have led the world technologically for at least 150 years, so modern industry uses the language of the

leaders. Quebec's English community has been open to the technological dynamism of the English-speaking peoples. As emphasized earlier, immigration of highly skilled people has always been a feature of English Quebec.

In other words, many of the problems facing unilingual French-speakers in Quebec face unilingual Francophones everywhere. The linguistic siege mentality of Quebec is duplicated in France where the nationalists object to le rugby, le football and le pop music. It is a fiction that the state of the French language in Quebec is somehow related to immigrant infants attending bilingual rather than unilingual French schools. It is also a fiction that French Quebec can become more secure or more tolerant about language after independence. The French in France are insecure and do not give family allowances to children with non-French names or allow them to register in school. Quebec does more or less the same with place names; after independence it may do the same to people.

Paradoxically, despite the substantial bias in social, political, economic and cultural affairs, French-speakers can never have a sense of "moreness" relative to English-speakers, especially in the context of 20th Century North America. As a result, even after independence and the possible exodus of Quebec's English minority, French will still be precarious and French-speakers will still have a sense of lessness *vis à vis* English-speakers. French-speakers, even in France, can never be secure about their language.

A Luxury We Can No Longer Afford?

Less obviously, the fading nature of French partly explains why French has become a bureaucratic language in Canada. As has been pointed out again and again, even those private firms staffed and owned by French Canadians in Canada use English at the executive and scientific-tech-

nical levels. The University of Montreal's medical, scientific and even social science books are often entirely in English. Consequently, the bureaus of the Government have become a sort of safety net for unilingual French-speakers. It is not unusual for a bureaucracy to use a receding language. The British Civil Service amongst others in the 19th Century actually used Latin for much of the time, and had Latin examinations. Just as in Quebec today, the British used language to exclude certain groups — the British schools for the poor did not teach Latin whereas the elite schools did.

Consequently, French Canadian ultranationalists are attempting to compensate for a world situation not just a Canadian situation. The chauvinism surrounding French in Canada is enormous and has served to conceal otherwise sensible social explanations for the situation of unilingual French-speakers. Canada has done well by French. However, because the French language itself has lost much of its vitality, it is becoming more difficult and expensive to retain.

John Bright wrote that "The knowledge of Ancient Languages is mainly a luxury." Unless French Canada turns to patriotic or self-sacrifices rather than imposing sacrifices upon other Canadians, many Canadians may well echo John Bright and say that the knowledge of an ancient language, in this case French, is a luxury they can no longer afford. In brief, a major danger facing French is that people may regard it like Latin and attempt to do to French what they did to Latin.

Distortions of a Society

It is not unusual for ultranationalism to distort a society. Witness the Irish and religion, McCarthy and communism, or the Nazis and anti-semitism. Ultranationalism has dis-

torted French Canadian society in general and French Quebec society in particular. The religious, linguistic, bureaucratic and ultranationalistic forces that give French Quebecers a distinctive identity must share in the responsibility for creating Quebec's social problems.

Major stimulants to French Quebec's ultranationalism are the myths generated in the closed society of French Quebec. French Quebec is a sort of hothouse society where exotic ideas flourish only to die if exposed to the cold of the wider world. French Quebec's actions are molded by fiction not fact, and by slogans not sense. Folkloric beliefs that French Quebecers are the "white niggers" of America are fervently held. The gap between what French Quebec's ultranationalists believe and what actually is (or was) has become enormous.

It is critical that non-Francophones attain a proportional representation in the Federal Cabinet, in Quebec's Legislative Assembly and bureaucracy to combat the discrimination and mythology at source. However, French Canadian ultranationalists will not readily abdicate their over-representation in public life. The French-speaking domination over the Canadian and Quebec means of public administration produces too many advantages (in the shape of public funds) for it to be surrendered easily.

Missing the Point in Quebec

The major consequence of ultranationalism is the distortion of public life in Quebec. As a result of ultranationalism, Quebec's public officials frequently miss the point. For instance, with an 11% unemployment rate, a major concern is the right to work. Yet Quebec's ultranationalists insist that the main problem is not the right to work, but the right to work in French.

Quebec's ultranationalists actually force jobs out of the province in an attempt to make people work in French.

In these days of a declining Quebec economy, what matters is the continued existence of *any* jobs in the province, not whether the State can force jobs to become French- as opposed to English-speaking. In turn, Quebec is the highest taxed Canadian province because the private English-speaking sector is shrinking and the public French-speaking sector is expanding for the same social reasons — ultra-nationalism.

It is irrelevant that the Canadian Head of State, the Queen, opened the most expensive Olympics to date. The only objection made by any Quebec political party *prior* to the Olympics was by the Parti Québecois — to the Queen opening the Games. No one criticized the planned expenditure — which eventually resulted in a deficit of $1,000 million — or suggested that better use might have been made of the resources.

It is irrelevant that immigrants attend the bilingual English school sector rather than the unilingual French sector. Quebec's own figures show that the "English" sector is in fact bilingual, and emigration reduces the English sector. What is relevant is that the Quebec State does *not* respect all children regardless of race or language.

Despite Quebec's claims, English much more than French will be needed by the North Americans of the 21st Century. The social consequences of an increasing number of unilingual French-speakers is disastrous for the individuals and for the wider Canadian and Quebec societies. The lower social orders of French Canada are deprived of English so as to ensure that the lower social orders remain as they are.

Independence is neither Decentralization nor Democratic

Contrary to the conventional wisdom at the time of writing, it is in fact irrelevant if Canada is more or less decen-

tralized than it already is. What does matter is that all levels of Government, federal, provincial and municipal, be more responsive to and respectful of *all* citizens regardless of race, religion or language.

The creation of a politically sovereign Quebec does nothing to increase the powers of citizens. The Parti Québecois' Policy on the French Language indicates clearly that power is to be re-centralized into the hands of Quebec's Francized State rather than into the hands of citizens. Quebec separatism is only a horizontal shift in the geographical location of state power from Ottawa to Quebec City. What is needed is a vertical shift in political power democratically downwards to all citizens.

Quebec's bureaucrats in the Brave New France proposed by the Parti Québecois will be more remote, authoritarian and menacing to democracy than Ottawa's mandarins ever managed to be. The quality, and democratic responsiveness of Quebec's Legislative Assembly will not improve just because it has more power. The gap between the governed and the government will undoubtedly increase. The prime example is the imposition of francization under Bill 101, as outlined in the following extracts:

> 141. *The francization programme is intended to generalize the use of French at all levels of the business firm. This implies:*
>
> *(a) the knowledge of the official language on the part of management, the members of the professional corporations and the other members of the staff;*
>
> *(b) an increase at all levels of the business firm, including the board of directors, in the number of persons having a good knowledge of the French language so as to generalize its use;*
>
> *(c) the use of French as the language of work and as the language of internal communication;*

(d) the use of French in the working documents of the business firm, especially in manuals and catalogues;

(e) the use of French in communications with clients, suppliers and the public;

(f) the use of French terminology;

(g) the use of French in advertising;

(h) appropriate policies for hiring, promotion and transfer.

158. *A Commission de surveillance is established to deal with questions relating to failures to comply with this act.*

171. *The investigation commissioners shall make an inquiry whenever they have reason to believe that this act has not been observed.*

173. *Any person or group of persons may petition for an inquiry.*

174. *Petitions for inquiry must be in writing and be accompanied with indications of the grounds on which they are based and identification of the petitioners. The identity of a petitioner may be disclosed only with his express authorization.*

205. *Every person who contravenes a provision of this act other than section 136 or of a regulation made under this act by the Government or by the Office de la langue française is guilty of an offence and liable, in addition to costs,*

(a) for each offence, to a fine of $25 to $500 in the case of a natural person, and of $50 *to* $1,000 *in the case of an artificial person;*

(b) for any subsequent offence within two years of a first offence, to a fine of $50 *to* $1,000 *in the case of a natural person, and of* $500 *to* $5,000 *in the case of an artificial person.*

206. *A business firm guilty of an offence . . . is liable, in addition to costs, to a fine of* $100 *to*

> $2,000 *for each day during which it carries on its business without a* [*francization*] *certificate.*

The lesson is plain: Quebec's treatment of citizens is in far greater need of reform than Canada's treatment of citizens. Consequently, we must oppose separatism if only to defend the bad against the worse.

Durham and Wolfe

English Canadian extremists have not yet replied to the statements and actions of French Canadian ultranationalists. However it can only be a matter of time before the comments of people such as Lord Durham and The Conqueror of Quebec (General Wolfe) are resurrected into the Canadian national consciousness.

Lord Durham wrote that Canada is "two nations warring within the bosom of a single State". Unless the discrimination against Quebec's minority is alleviated, a conviction will spread that of the two "nations", the French-speaking one is far more discriminatory.

As shown, the ultranationalists demand a bilingual Canada because Canada has a 26% French-speaking minority. Yet the ultranationalists demand a unilingual French-speaking Quebec with a 20% non-French minority. General Wolfe himself can be quoted to comment on this attitude. He wrote:

> *"When the French are in a scrape, they cry out on behalf of the human species. Yet, when the French are on top, there are none more bloody or more inhumane."*

It is now up to the French-speaking majority of Quebec to show that both Durham and Wolfe were wrong.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 6

1. In an interview with the author, 1978.
2. Jacques Allard, "The Gallo-Saxon Generation," The Guardian, April 19, 1975.
3. Leslie Sklair, "Organized Knowledge," Paladin, 1973.
4. Jacques Allard, op. cit.
5. Sanche de Gramont, "The French: Portrait of a People," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1969, pp. 259-299.

Appendix I

Two Charters Compared

Quebec's Charter of the French language (Bill 101) violates many human rights as outlined in various United Nations Charters on Human Rights.

The law requires not just a minimum or even a maximum use of French, it requires a monopoly of French in many instances. It is asymmetrical or one-way rather than symmetrical or both ways. For instance, Section 45 prohibits an employer from dismissing or demoting an employee for the sole reason that he is French-speaking or has insufficient knowledge of a language other than French. Similar protection is *not* given to English-speaking workers.

The Appendix presents extracts from Bill 101 on the left and, on the right, extracts from the following UN Charters:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

Canada, so conspicuous in promoting UN policies abroad, is equally conspicuous in failing to adhere to them in Quebec.

Bill 101

75. The Minister of Education may empower such persons as he may designate to verify and decide on children's eligibility for instruction in English.

84. No secondary school leaving certificate may be issued to a student who does not have the speaking and writing knowledge of French required by the curricula of the Department of Education.

UN Charters

Article 26

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

UDHR

Article 16

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

UDHR

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

UDHR

Bill 101

20. In order to be appointed, transferred or promoted to an office in the civil administration, a knowledge of the official language appropriate to the office applied for is required.

For the application of the preceding paragraph, each agency of the civil administration shall establish criteria and procedures of verification and submit them to the Office de la langue française for approval, failing which the Office may establish them itself. If the Office considers the criteria and procedures unsatisfactory, it may either request the agency concerned to modify them or establish them itself.

90. Subject to section 10, anything that, by prescription of an act of Québec or an act of the British Parliament having application to Québec in a field of provincial jurisdiction, or of a regulation or an order, must be published in French or English, may be published in French alone.

Similarly, anything that, by prescription of an act, a regulation or an order, must be published in a French newspaper and in an English newspaper, may be published in a French newspaper alone.

101

UN Charters

Article 7

(c) Equal opportunity for everyone to be promoted in his employment to an appropriate higher level, subject to no considerations other than those of seniority and competence;

ICESCR

Article 2

1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

ICCPR

Article 25

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in Article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

(a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs directly or through freely chosen representatives;

(c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

ICCPR

Article 21

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

UDHR

Bill 101

7. French is the language of the legislature and the courts in Québec.

8. Legislative bills shall be drafted in the official language. They shall also be tabled in the National Assembly, passed and assented to in that language.

9. Only the French text of the statutes and regulations is official.

13. The judgments rendered in Québec by the courts and by bodies discharging judicial or quasi-judicial functions must be drawn up in French or be accompanied with a duly authenticated French version. Only the French version of the judgment is official.

UN Charters

Article 14

1. All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law.

3. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:

(a) To be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him;

(f) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court;

ICCPR

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

UDHR

23. The health services and the social services must ensure that their services are available in the official language.

They must draw up their notices, communications and printed matter intended for the public in the official language.

27. In the health services and the social services, the documents filed in the clinical records shall be drafted in French or in English, as the person drafting them sees fit. However, each health service or social service may require such documents to be drafted in French alone. Resumés of clinical records must be furnished in French on demand to any person authorized to obtain them.

41. Every employer shall draw up his written communications to his staff in the official language. He shall draw up and publish his offers of employment or promotion in French.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

UDHR

Article 24

1. Every child shall have, without discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State.

ICCPR

Article 19

2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontier, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.

ICCPR

Bill 101

43. Collective agreements and the schedules to them must be drafted in the official language, including those which must be filed pursuant to section 60 of the Labour Code (Revised Statutes, 1964, chapter 141).

44. Where a grievance or dispute regarding the negotiation, renewal or review of a collective labour agreement is the subject of arbitration, the arbitration award shall be drawn up in the official language or be accompanied with a duly authenticated French version. Only the French version of the award is official.

The same rule applies to decisions rendered under the Labour Code investigators, investigation-commissioners and the Labour Court.

49. Every association of employees shall use the official language in written communications with its members. It may use the language of an individual member in its correspondence with him.

UN Charters

Article 22

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (*ordre public*), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the armed forces and of the police in their exercise of this right.

ICCPR

Bill 101

51. Every inscription on a product, on its container or on its wrapping, or on a leaflet, brochure or card supplied with it, including the directions for use and the warranty certificates, must be drafted in French. This rule applies also to menus and wine lists.

The French inscription may be accompanied with a translation or translations, but no inscription in another language may be given greater prominence than that in French.

53. Catalogues, brochures, folders and similar publications must be drawn up in French.

54. Except as provided by regulation of the Office de la langue française, it is forbidden to offer toys or games to the public which require the use of a non-French vocabulary for their operation, unless a French version of the toy or game is available on no less favourable terms on the Québec market.

57. Application forms for employment, order forms, invoices, receipts and quittances shall be drawn up in French.

58. Except as may be provided under this act or the regulations of the Office de la langue française, signs and posters and commercial advertising shall be solely in the official language.

63. Firms names must be in French.

64. To obtain juridical personality, it is necessary to have a firm name in French.

UN Charters

Article 19

2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.

ICCPR

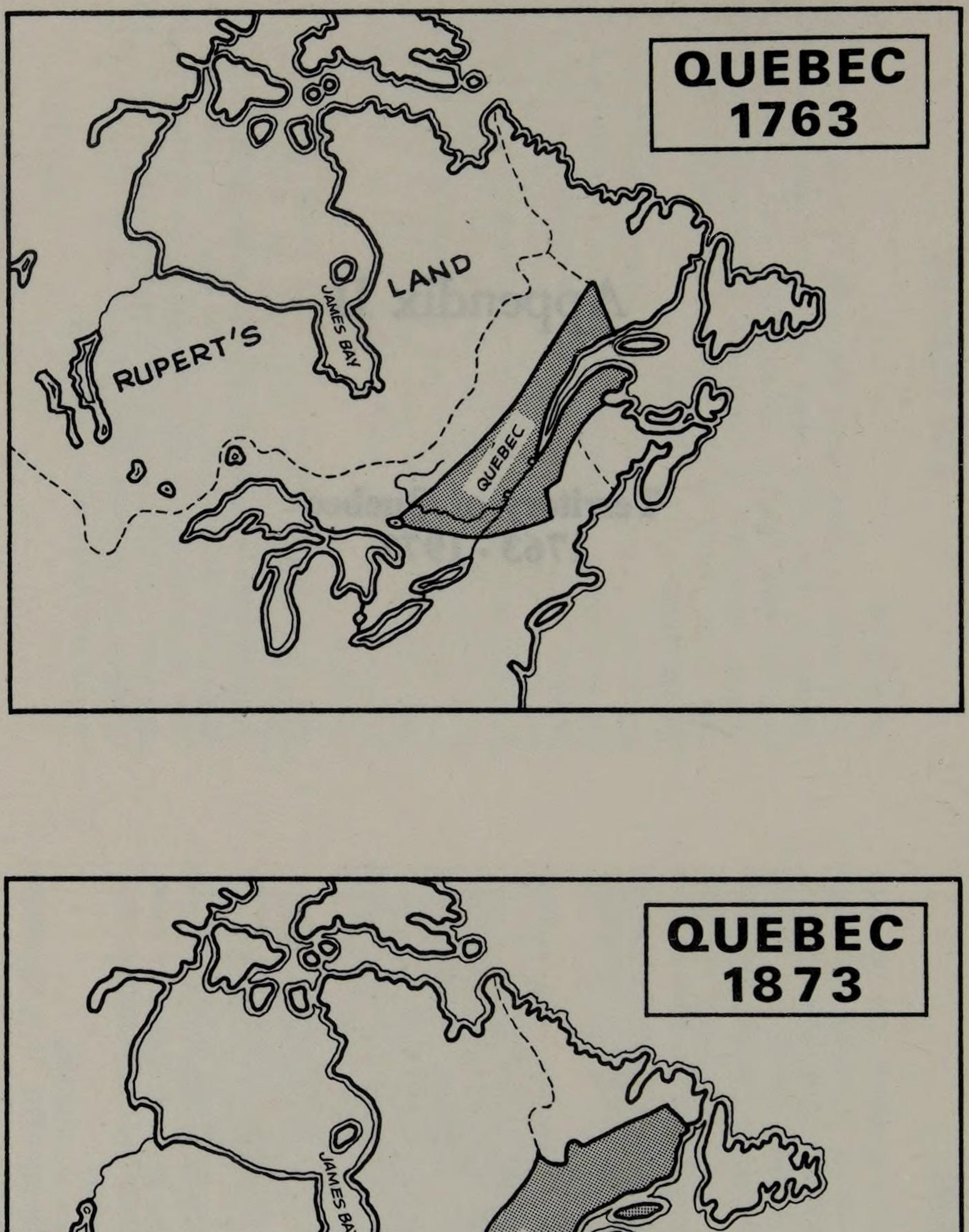
Article 27

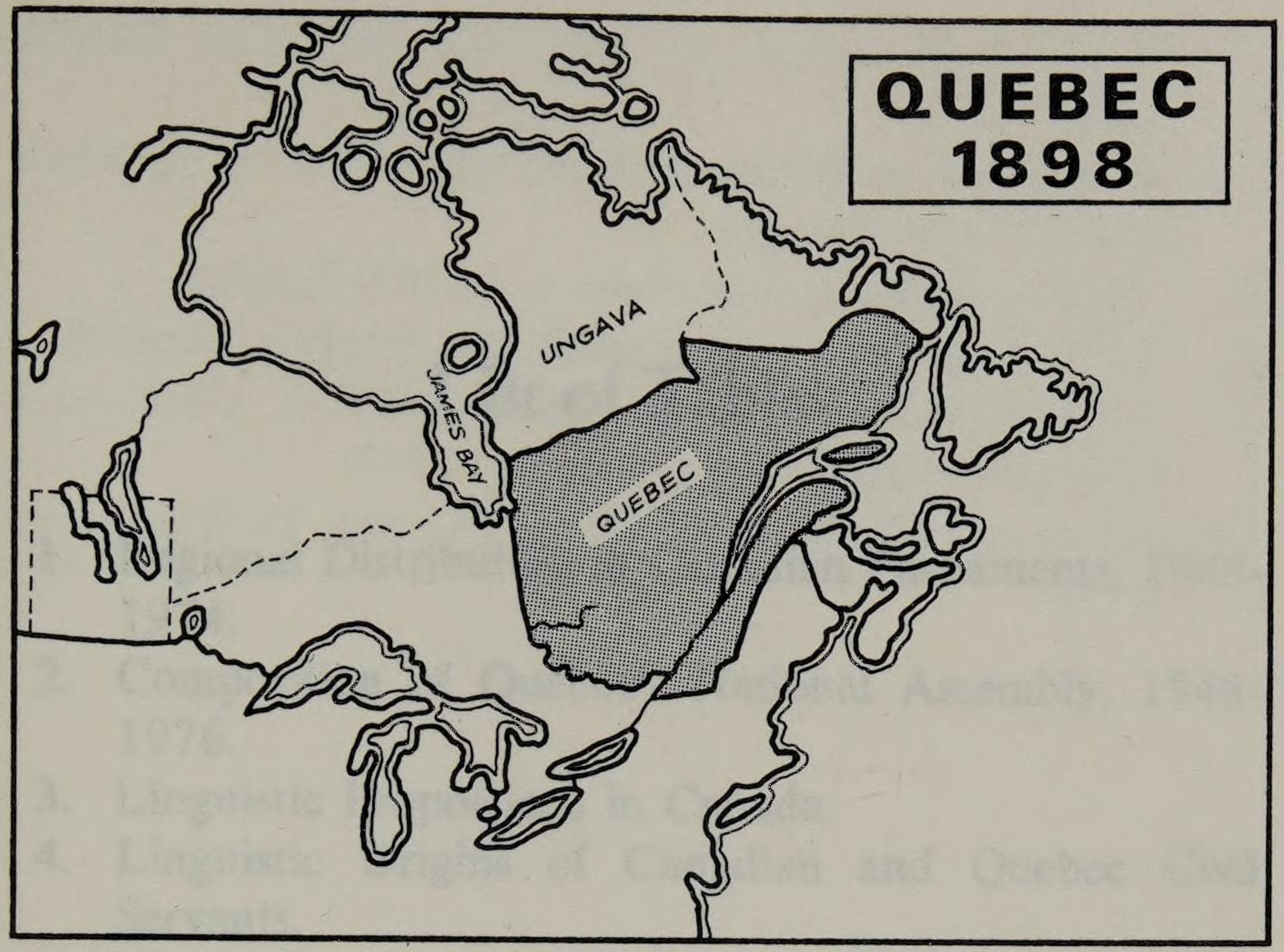
In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

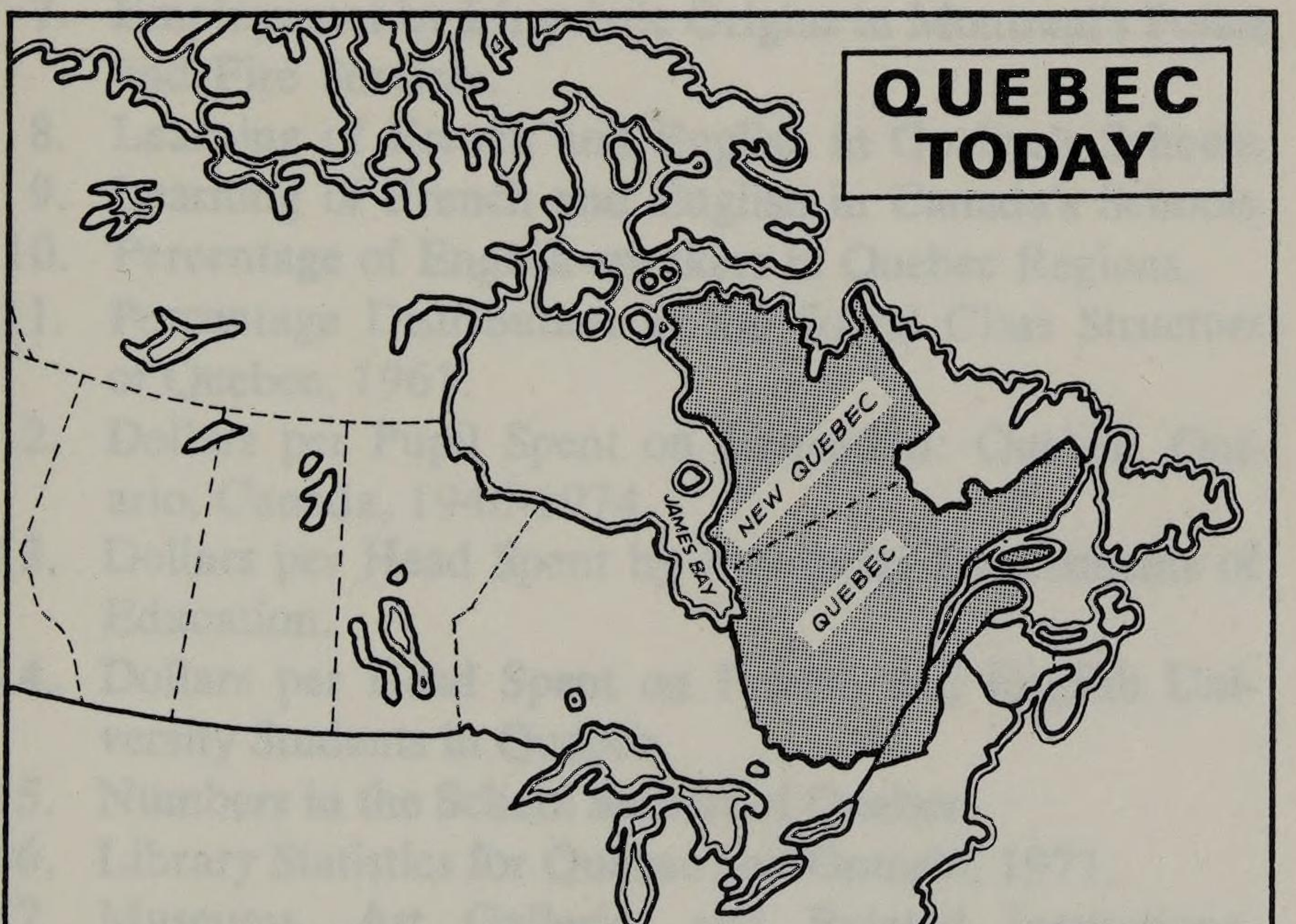
ICCPR

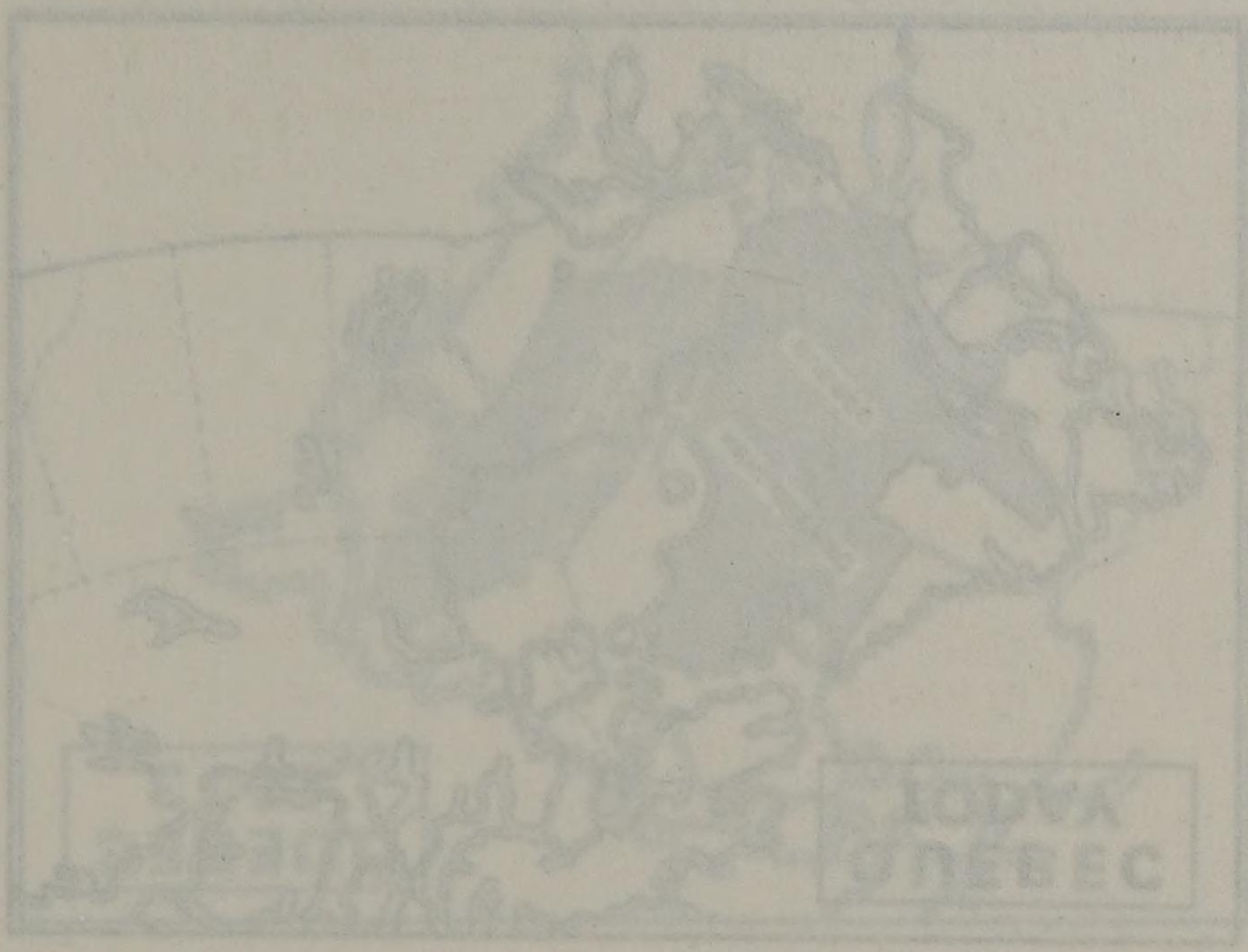
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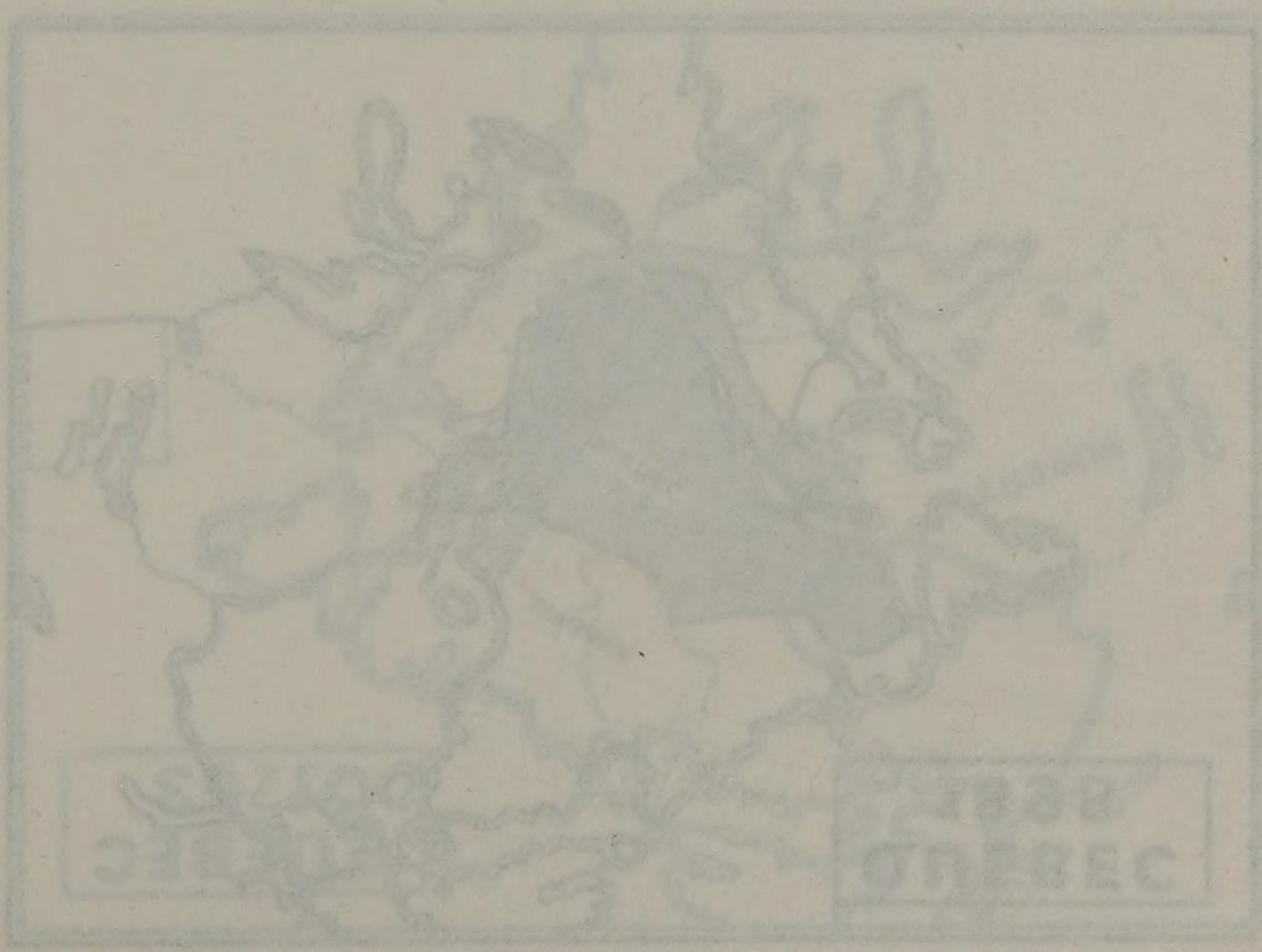
Territory of Quebec
1763 - 1978


QUEBEC
1763
LAND
JAMES BAY
RUPERT'S
QUEBEC
QUEBEC
1873
JAMES BAY
QUEBEC


QUEBEC
1898
UNGAVA
JAMES BAY
QUEBEC


QUEBEC
TODAY
JAMES BAY
NEW QUEBEC
QUEBEC


ΙΟΔΝΑ
ΟΛΕΒΕΟ


ΙΟΔΝΑ
ΟΛΕΒΕΟ

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20. Numbers in the Labor Force per 1,000 People.
21. World Statistics on the French and English Languages.
22. Percentage Share of World Population, GNP, and Scientific Publishing Manpower, 1967.
23. Scientists Engaged in Research and Development, 1962.

Sam Allison teaches history at a high school in Montreal. Born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1943, he pursued his education at the London School of Economics (B.Sc. Econ. Hon.), in post-graduate studies at the London Institute of Education and at McGill University (M.A.). His Ph.D. is now in progress.



FRENCH POWER exposes many myths, among them: that Canada is "two nations" or "two founding peoples"; that Quebec is more generous to its linguistic minority than other provinces are to French minorities; and that Quebec separatism is, in Premier René Lévesque's words, "simply a case of the natives taking over".

Francization is the word coined by the Quebec Government to signify the process of changing names (of streets, towns and businesses) and procedures (of teaching, civil administration and the law) from English into French. "A Commission de surveillance is established to deal with questions relating to failures to comply with this act." (Bill 101.)

In the author's words: "It is fundamentally inaccurate to view Francization as a *re*-conquest — it is a colonization process of areas that were never French . . . demanding that English place names be francized is simply speeding up the colonization process."

"The contrasting treatment meted out to the Canadian linguistic minority compared to that meted out to the Quebec minority can be traced to French power in the Federal Government and a total absence of English power in the Quebec Government."

"English Canadians are accepting injustices and hardships imposed by French-dominated Big Governments as a sort of atonement for the sup

"Quite simply, it is
be governed or to
Quebec."

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